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**STREETSCAPES OF MANLY
ON MORETON BAY:
1890s-1950s**

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the requirements of the degree of
Master of Philosophy in History**

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I declare that the work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original. Except as acknowledged, the material presented is my own work and has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other university. Information derived from the work of others is acknowledged in the text or illustration text boxes.

Signature.....*K. Goodwin*.....

ABSTRACT

In occupying a position along the shoreline of Moreton Bay, Manly is rare among Brisbane's southeast suburbs. Early European occupation in the vicinity was constructed around a rural lifestyle. This continued once Manly became a popular seaside resort. Similarly, the importance of its seaside position remained a feature even after it became a suburb. As Manly's suburban identity became more apparent, however, a reflection of its waterside location in its commercial centre faded.

After 1925 the commercial centre underwent an abrupt change. This is obvious from subsequent alterations to the number and types of business in Cambridge Parade, Stratton Terrace and the Esplanade. That year therefore signifies a watershed in the centre's development.

From the 1890s to the 1950s, the dynamic interaction of the physical and social environments, both within and beyond Manly, had various effects on its commercial centre. At the stage when the occupation of Manly was based on its rural character and position by the bay the physical environment seemed just as important that its socio-political one. The political and economic environment gained increasing significance as Manly changed from being a ward of Wynnum to a suburb of Brisbane in 1925. Moreover, although the importance of economic considerations was already becoming evident by then, it was not until much later that they gradually became more vital than issues of a political nature.

There were a number of social processes relevant to the growth of the Manly business centre which reached a turning point about 1925. Within a short period, at least three developments coincided to have a crucial effect within Cambridge Parade, Stratton Terrace and the Esplanade. These were the amalgamation of Greater Brisbane, rail transport being usurped by the arrival of the motor vehicle and the rising popularity of surfing beaches to the north and south of Brisbane.

Two distinctive periods can therefore be identified in the history of Manly's business precinct between the 1890s and the 1950s. Prior to 1925, the business centre benefited from Manly's heyday as a seaside resort. During the following period commerce almost maintained a plateau as Manly entered more fully into suburbanisation and was forced to cope with issues related to the expanded horizon.

Nevertheless, throughout both periods the commercial precinct underwent a number of additional changes. These are obvious in sub-periods of the two major ones. Through the changing nature and number of businesses, within smaller phases of five or six years, the sequential occupations of individuals who operated from within the business centre are revealed.

The ensuing fluctuations present a challenge for suitable, causal explanations to be found. It is obvious that some adjustments within the centre were often the consequence of wider cycles of events, such as depression and war, or changes within

the economic structure. These, however, were not consistently the primary processes at work as the impact they had on the commercial centre differed.

Events within the Manly shopping centre were subject to processes which initially were aligned with local activities but were later related to increased external pressure. Alterations in the numbers of business and their types largely depended on Wynnum's position vis-à-vis its political independence or other factors such as centralisation, the contemporary method of transport or attitudes to the seaside. These were defining stages of more lineal progressions, earlier aspects of which had underpinned the establishment and development of the Manly business centre. It was therefore inevitable that significant modifications within processes outside of Manly's control became detrimental to the centre's commercial development. Even so, it was often through a combination or conflict of factors associated with lineal and cyclical historical processes that certain characteristics of the centre dominated at particular times. Therefore, the dynamics of intrinsic or extrinsic social processes and Manly's physical environment produced various layers in a succession of streetscapes associated with its commercial precinct.

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INTRODUCTION

ON STUDYING HISTORICAL STREETSCAPES

Manly is nestled along the shores of Waterloo Bay, within sixteen kilometres of the Central Business District of Brisbane. With such an exceptional location, it is among Brisbane's most distinctive suburbs. Wedged between Wynnum to the north and Lota to the south Manly shares with these neighbouring suburbs one of Brisbane's easternmost positions. A hilly terrain complements Manly's waterside location ensuring panoramic views from a variety of locations in which the former overlooks the latter. The more elevated sites have a vista not only encompassing Waterloo Bay but also extending beyond to include the wider Moreton Bay.

As part of the Moreton Bay Region, Manly has often been included in publications and documentaries. Nevertheless, it would seem that so far there has only been one attempt to consider Manly as the main subject of historical investigation.¹ Maybe such a lapse in recording Manly's past could be explained by its ongoing subsidiary position. When Wynnum became a town in 1912 Manly was its number 3 ward. Thereafter, it remained a ward of Wynnum until both were incorporated into Brisbane in 1925. Perhaps this partially explains why the suburb itself has not usually been the primary focus of such endeavours.

Despite maintaining its secondary position for so long the lack of historical attention towards Manly is nevertheless intriguing – even doubly so if the duration and extent of European landholding around the present business centre is considered in conjunction with the reconstruction of a nearby section of Waterloo Bay.² In 1882, the first subdivisions of one of the original portions on which the Manly business

¹ The first historical study devoted to Manly was undertaken in 1982 to commemorate the centenary of the sale of subdivisions of land in the area. Mervyn N. Beitz, *Mangroves to Moorings: Stories and Photographs of People and Events in and around Manly, Queensland* (Wynnum Central: W. Lockwood and Sons, 1982).

² The most northerly position of an extensive marina commences at the low-water mark adjacent to the Manly commercial centre. Original grants of land for the portions associated with the centre were made in January 1861. QDNR, David Dalziel Arnold, Certificate of Title, 21 July 1882, vol. 430, fol. 197; QDNR, James Arnold, Certificate of Title, 21 July 1882, vol. 430, fol. 195.

centre developed were released for sale. This preceded reconfiguration of any land associated with Wynnum and Lota. Also, partly due to the construction of a marina within its boat harbour, Manly has become a unique Australian location for boating enthusiasts. Besides the prominence of the boat harbour, for nearly half of the seventy-five year interval between its creation and the first sale of subdivisions Manly was neither a ward of Wynnum nor a Brisbane suburb.

Before becoming a suburb Manly passed through phases of rural occupation and use as a seaside resort during which the slope above its foreshore was increasingly chosen for the establishment of businesses. As ever-increasing space was devoted to retail and service outlets a commercial centre began to be consolidated there. It is evident that well before the 1920s a nascent trading sector was emerging on certain sections of Cambridge Parade, Stratton Terrace and the Royal Esplanade.³ The same space still contains the commercial centre. The relative stability of the position of the business centre renders it a worthy focus for examining how the commercial use of those three streets adapted to Manly's changing status.

Accordingly, the present undertaking closely reflects that of a streetscape analysis of the defined area. For the purpose of this study the term streetscape is used as a miniature form of townscape. The latter was developed to represent the landscape equivalent of visible forms of urban areas. Elements of a townscape are the plans or layouts of streets, architectural style and design of buildings and the use of land. Each of these or particular detailed aspects of them have been defined as urban form. Beside land use and the style of buildings and their accumulation this has come to include other components such as open space, walkways and the accommodation of activities.⁴ To some degree these elements are included in the streetscape (or more accurately partial streetscapes) of the three streets in the present study.

³ The junction of Cambridge Parade and the Royal Esplanade is only one of several locations, from Lota through to Wynnum, where the name of the latter road changes. For simplicity the road is subsequently referred to as the Esplanade. When a specific position requires defining its subdivision or street location is used.

⁴ Ali Madanipour, *Design of Urban Space: An Inquiry into a Socio-spatial Process* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1996), 32.

Even though the emphasis of this study is confined to three streets, it has little resemblance to many other studies based on similarly well-defined limits. Works such as those by Elizabeth Vines and Joanne Ritale, on precincts in Adelaide and Cleveland respectively, were designed especially to promote the heritage value of the streets they investigated.⁵ By not adopting that technique here, there is no intention to undermine the heritage potential of extant shops, as some, particularly those with awnings shading the Cambridge Parade footpath, present a unified, evocative display of Manly's bygone, heyday charm.

Compared to streetscapes which highlight heritage characteristics, this study is more closely aligned with the approach Geoffrey Bolton uses in *Daphne Street*. He places the physical and social characteristics of the street in which he spent fifteen years of his life within the wider context of national and international developments.⁶ This historical exploration of portions of the three streets which constitute Manly's business precinct is situated within a similar context.

Although the wider background for the centre of Manly is included, the relatively small business precinct remains a crucial focus. With the foreground limited to sections of three streets, the essential nature of the present study necessarily differs significantly from works such as that of Joseph Powell's historical geography of Australia. In that wide-ranging study Powell presents Australia as not only made up of intra-national regions but also belonging to international ones as well.⁷ If placed on a continuum with that work, the streetscapes of Manly would be positioned at the opposite end because they occupy a relatively confined space.

Even if an historical streetscape is compared to the history of regions within a nation not only would the variation in size be problematic but so too would the difficulty of defining the latter. Historians who research regions within a nation are faced with the dilemma of boundary definition. Sometimes boundaries change over time. In addition, those boundaries may be defined either by dominant use or

⁵ Elizabeth Vines, *Port Adelaide Conservation Study* (South Australian State Planning Authority, June 1977); Joanne Rose Ritale, "Old Cleveland Commercial and Civic Precinct: A Cultural Heritage Study," BA (Hons) thesis, Dept. of History, UQ, 2000.

⁶ Geoffrey Bolton, *Daphne Street* (South Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre, 1997).

⁷ Joseph Michael Powell, *An Historical Geography of Modern Australia: The Restive Fringe* (Cambridge: CUP, 1988), xviii.

political control of an area. If these two factors conflict it can further confuse demarcation.⁸ In contrast, the parameters used in the current study are very specific as they adhere to the retail sections of three street frontages belonging to only four blocks of land.

However, difficulties do not only apply in relation to regions. Any attempt to compare studies with disproportionate dimensions is problematic, even when there are similarities in location. Inconsistencies are not only related to areas across state boundaries. Whether a streetscape, such as this one in Manly, is compared to Terry Kass' examination of the North Coast Region of New South Wales or the works of Rod Fisher and Peter Ludlow on Moreton Bay there are still discrepancies.⁹ With regard to the area covered by Moreton Bay, Manly occupies only a small part. Furthermore, the core of the present investigation is only a small part of Manly. As an inevitable consequence of the variation in size, many of the activities conducted within the entire scope of Moreton Bay have only a tangential effect on the commercial centre of Manly.

Even so, the spatial scope of the foreground presented here still deviates from studies more clearly correlated with it in size. This applies equally to Mary Howells' history of Manly's nearby shire of Redlands as it does to a history of Monto by Ross Johnston.¹⁰ In some respects the present undertaking shares little resemblance to certain suburban histories. That does not only apply to a suburb belonging to another capital city, such as Max Kelly's study of Paddington in Sydney. It also applies to the study by Mervyn Beitz on Manly itself.¹¹ Therefore, it is not only on the basis of a similar geographical area that this work does not conform to more spatially comprehensive ones.

⁸ Chilla Bulbeck, "Regionalism," in *Australian Studies: A Survey*, ed. James Walter (Melbourne: OUP, 1989), 74-75.

⁹ Terry Kass, *Regional History of the North Coast* (Grafton: Department of Planning, 1989); Peter Ludlow, *Moreton Bay People: The Complete Collection* (Stones Corner: Peter Ludlow, 2000); Rod Fisher, "The History of Moreton Bay: A Saga of Lost Dreams," in *Brisbane: Moreton Bay Matters*, ed. Murray Johnson, BHG Papers no. 19 (2002): 100-20.

¹⁰ W. Ross Johnston, *A New Province? The Closer Settlement of Monto* (Brisbane: Boolarong, 1982); Mary Howells, *Living on the Edge along Tingalpa Creek: A History of Upper Tingalpa, Capalaba and Thorneside* (Redland, Qld.: Redland Shire Council, 2000).

¹¹ Max Kelly, *Paddock Full of Houses: Paddington 1840-90* (Paddington, NSW: Doak, 1979); Beitz, *Mangroves to Moorings*.

Spatial consideration alone is not sufficient to define or categorise historical investigations. A very different type of classification emerges when the author's approach to the task is considered. Although Ludlow, Howells and Beitz focus on areas which surround the Manly centre and which decrease in size from Moreton Bay, to the Redland Shire and Manly, respectively, all adopt a narrative approach. In contrast, the present study does not concentrate too heavily on narrative. It therefore differs not only from the first two of these studies but also its predecessor *Mangroves to Moorings: Stories and Photographs of People and Events in and around Manly, Queensland*. Written by Beitz and published by the Manly Centenary Committee in 1982, *Mangroves to Moorings* commemorates one hundred years of 'closer' settlement. The *raison d'être* for the work was a celebratory response by the people of Manly to the centenary of the auction of "Manly Beach" estate subdivisions.¹²

As the Manly centre developed on some of those subdivisions, a comparison between the earlier study and this one helps to underscore the two differences already discussed. Firstly, the irregularities between the two verify the variation in content which can occur with even a small discrepancy in area. Secondly, it highlights the impact that the approach taken by the historical investigator has on the way in which the same, or some part of the same, vicinity is recounted. In both respects this undertaking and that of Beitz differ significantly from each other. *Mangroves to Moorings* commences with a brief overview which places Manly's history within the wider scope of Moreton Bay. That study is so geographically extensive that at times it incorporates neighbouring areas of Moreton Bay's mainland and some of its islands as well. In addition, stories of events and personalities beyond the boundaries of Manly continue to be treated as more than contextual background throughout. Therefore, it is not only in their geographical extent which the two works differ but also because Beitz incorporates a variety of content extending well beyond Manly and chooses to relate it in a narrative style.

¹² Beitz, *Mangroves to Moorings*.

In referring to local historical studies which attempt such extensiveness, Alan Roberts applies the term “encyclopaedic”.¹³ By doing so, he draws attention to the limits implicit in the pursuit of an all-encompassing coverage. He maintains that such an attempt sacrifices a cohesive, thematic account and omits the “main line of change over time”.¹⁴

Although endeavouring to avoid such a consequence here, narrative is not entirely rejected in favour of theme. The stories of individuals are an important part of the work especially as they include shopkeepers like Joseph Curtis, Richard Russell, Thomas Senden and Peter Hansen who all operated shops in the early business precinct and were involved in the formation of the centre. While many traders conducted business from their own premises, regardless of whether they were the owners or not, some of the shopkeepers lived with their families in residences above or at the back of the stores in which they operated. The activities of these individuals are important as they provide insight into the development of the three streets.

Despite the accounts of individuals being a vital part of this work, their stories have been constrained by a number of themes. It is recognised that this approach is not entirely consistent with Roberts’ recommendations as he suggests a variety of thematic accounts could be accumulated into a series on a specific locality.¹⁵ Despite each section of the present work being formulated around a topic and including sub-topics as well, the construction of limited subjects leaves certain aspects of Manly’s history unexplored.

In a very different attempt at cohesion, many authors adopt theory over theme. This is particularly evident where the history of the environment is concerned. Ross Johnston points out that there are various approaches to environmental history.¹⁶ In part, they represent different perspectives which emerge when the environment is

¹³ Alan M. S. Roberts, “The Study of Suburban History,” *Teaching History* 17, 2 (July 1983): 34.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ W. Ross Johnston, “Why a History of the Environment,” *Australian Historical Association Bulletin* 78-79 (Dec. 1994/Apr. 1995): 61-69.

treated as a page or stage on which human culture is exposed or, conversely, as an entity capable of operating through its own volition.¹⁷

Works on or within Australia often reflect these dichotomous approaches. Thomas Dunlap portrays the environment as an agent when he asserts that nature is capable of gaining dominance in the “Australian Nature, European Culture” dichotomy.¹⁸ On the other hand, studies which maintain the pre-eminence of culture represent a variety of approaches which convey attitudes to it ranging from negative to positive. In the former category is a study by Sue Rosen whose title *Losing Ground: An Environmental History of the Hawkesbury-Nepean Catchment* is indicative of her despair for the future of the area. Diana Beal conveys nearly as negative an approach when she examines *The Making of Rosalie* through a number of mistakes which had a detrimental effect on the physical environment. In contrast, Patrick Morgan takes a more positive attitude to *The Settling of Gippsland* by alleging that it was not only the natural boundaries but also a sensitive human response to that area which has hitherto managed to contain some of the detrimental effects of culture.¹⁹

Such environmental theories are not pertinent to this study because, even though it covers a period of sixty years, the core of it concentrates on such a compact area that the inclusion of them is impractical. Alternatively, even if a more confined timeframe was adhered to, aspects of cultural impact and environmental responses would be unavoidable if wider dimensions such as the foreshore and marinescape were included. By not dealing with activities such as dredging and drainage, some of the relatively short-term, inexorable repercussions which have affected the physical environment of the bay remain unexamined.

¹⁷ David Demeritt, “The Nature of Metaphors in Cultural Geography and Environmental History,” *Progress in Human Geography* 18, 2 (1994): 167-78.

¹⁸ Thomas R. Dunlap, “Australian Nature, European Culture: Anglo Settlers in Australia,” *Environmental History Review* 17, 1 (Spring 1993): 26-29.

¹⁹ Diana J. Beal, *The Making of Rosalie* (Toowoomba: Land Use Study Centre, USQ, 1993); Sue Rosen, *Losing Ground: An Environmental History of the Hawkesbury-Nepean Catchment* (Sydney: Hale and Iremonger, 1995), x; Patrick Morgan, *The Settling of Gippsland: A Regional History* (Traralgon, Vic.: Gippsland Municipalities Association, 1997), 7-11, 95-104.

Nevertheless, there is one perspective regarding the natural environment which is implicit in this work. In Morgan's study of the Gippsland area and the work of geographer Ronald Johnston nature is viewed as having the potential to set limits on cultural influences.²⁰ Such ideas are inherent in the restrictions geographical and geological constraints placed on Manly's residential expansion. To the west was excellent agricultural land which, by enabling small farms to be maintained throughout the period being studied, helped contain a sprawl in that direction. To the east is the sea.

A second factor concerning Manly's natural landscape is more pertinent though. Geological contours within Manly made certain choices about the direction of movement between the station and the beach more practical than others. As the main approach from the railway station to the beach followed the natural slope of the hill, Cambridge Parade became so popular that it usurped Stratton Terrace as the principal street.

Other theories, however, contribute more significantly to this work than environmental ones. Underpinning the main body of the study are various concepts of central place theory and its associated behavioural approaches. Even though initial aspects of the former had been introduced over a century earlier, prolific work did not begin until after 1933.²¹ Fundamental to central place theory are calculations of distance between individual major commercial centres. From the subsequent deductions it is assumed that consumers travel a determined "range" to a centre.²² Herein lies an assumption that an "equi-distant tributary area" surrounds each central place.²³

There is also another core element of central place theory. The theory instigated a new framework for settlement geography based on a central place and its functional

²⁰ Morgan, *The Settling of Gippsland*, 7-10; Ronald John Johnston, "Railways, Urban Growth and Central Place Patterns: An Example from South-east Melbourne," *Tijdschrift Voor Econ. En Soc. Geografie* (Jan./Feb. 1968): 36, 40-41.

²¹ I.D.H. Shepherd and C.J. Thomas, "Urban Consumer Behaviour," in *Retail Geography*, ed. John A. Dawson (London: Croom Helm, 1980): 20; Squire L. Speedy, "Central Place Theory," *The New Zealand Valuer* 23, 12 (Dec. 1978): 633.

²² Shepherd and Thomas, "Urban Consumer Behaviour," 21-23.

²³ Speedy, "Central Place Theory," 634.

interdependence with the surrounding rural area.²⁴ Therefore, besides being interested in the distance between each central place, theorists attempted to define the relationship of a major centre to its smaller, subsidiary centres.

In 1973 a study investigating such a connection was conducted on *The Central Place System of the Darling Downs District, Queensland*. Through this research Ross Dick observed that with the increasing speed of motor transport and greater road improvements higher order settlements on the Darling Downs, such as towns and cities, were becoming more accessible to rural dwellers. Consequently, there were adverse affects on settlements at the lower end of the hierarchical scale.²⁵

Increasingly, as variations of behaviour became incorporated into central place studies, previous assumptions were modified beyond recognition. The genesis of behavioural approaches was the result of the merging of central place theory with spatial interaction theory. The latter weakened the assumptions of central place theory by challenging the belief that consumers would use the closest provider of goods or services. Effectively, a more complex relationship was envisaged whereby attractions or disincentives of centres were also regarded as having an influence on where consumers would gravitate.

Among behavioural approaches of the 1960s and 1970s a few theoretical studies emerged, but more frequently methodologies ranged from empirical to cognitive. While cognitive approaches dealt with the image individuals have of the shopping environment, empirical approaches were more disparate. The latter helped to clarify behavioural components of theoretical frameworks, provide information for short to medium-term planning and demonstrate consumers' social characteristics. Frequently examined social factors included within such studies are socio-economic status and personal mobility.²⁶

²⁴ The interdependence between a central place and its surrounding area mainly focussed on the economic relationship associated with goods and services. Leslie J. King, *Central Place Theory*, (California: Sage, 1984), 29.

²⁵ Ross Stanley Dick, "The Central Place System of the Darling Downs District, Queensland: A Study of Variations in Centrality, Occupational Structure and Regional Service Relations," PhD thesis, Dept. of Geography, UQ, May 1973, 546.

²⁶ Shepherd and Thomas, "Urban Consumer Behaviour," 22-23.

Central place theory and affiliated studies provide a rationale for some of the elements of this work. Firstly, there is the appropriateness of applying form rather than function in defining a centre. The application of form as the measure for a centre has not gone unchallenged. The finding that patrons often appraise shops on individual merit, rather than their worth as a cluster, has given strength to objections to the use of form as the basis for describing a centre. As well, different urban environments and historical periods have sometimes been attributed a significant role in the definition of a centre.²⁷ While individual merit is beyond the scope of this study some difficulties associated with the latter can be overcome by making a distinction between core and frame.

Referring to a core and its corresponding frame is a valid way of defining the boundaries of a city centre. If the Manly centre had the core-frame distinction applied, the frame at one time would have included at least one other street. In having four grocery shops, Ernest Street which runs almost parallel to Cambridge Parade could, at one stage, have been regarded as the centre's outer perimeter.²⁸ Sections of Stratton Terrace and the Esplanade may perhaps also have been included during the early stages considered in this study as both once had a number of small businesses scattered intermittently along them.

Nevertheless, a couple of businesses which operated in the early twentieth century and could then have been considered as part of the frame still deserve a brief mention. The Manly Beach Kiosk which was slightly south of what is taken here to be the core and Bert Port who operated an oyster saloon, to the north of it along the Esplanade, were both located just outside of the concentration of retail outlets. While these are included in descriptions of the initial centre because operators of both played a significant role in creating centralised commerce, they are not collated with the shop numbers or types assembled for this study.

Here only the core of the business precinct is emphasised. This approach is substantiated by the fact that when framing areas are omitted from studies, various,

²⁷ P. T. Kivell and G. Shaw, "The Study of Retail Location," in *Retail Geography*, ed. Dawson, 99.

²⁸ Ian C. Alexander, *The City Centre Patterns and Problems* (Perth: UWAP, 1974), 8-12; Ron and Betty Kelley, interview, Apr. 1998; Huie Smith, interview, Oct. 1999.

seemingly arbitrary methods, based on the outline of a centre, demonstrate a strong correlation in the definition of boundaries.²⁹ As these are based on the density of facilities it is with relative confidence that the sections of Cambridge Parade, Stratton Terrace and the Esplanade, where businesses eventually formed the greatest density, are regarded as the hub of Manly. If additional validation is required for taking this perspective it is provided by the fact that the centre still covers, or rather is very substantially confined, to the position being investigated.

A second reason that theories associated with central place theory are important to this study is the recognition they provide for the relevance of transport to a centre's use and how the development of a particular centre may be influenced by transport systems. Studies on Melbourne confirm the significance of the railway in the initial development of a centre. Those examinations also support the assertion made within this study that when motor transport usurped rail it contributed to a subsequent lack of growth.³⁰

Like narrative and theme, however, theory is a secondary aspect of the appraisal of Manly undertaken here. None of the techniques discussed above are given prime consideration. Instead, by being based on an assessment of Manly's 'sequent occupance' the present work is structured around method. The term 'sequent occupance' was introduced into American geography in 1929 in an endeavour to apply concepts from the natural sciences to geography. By transferring concepts of succession and climax from plant ecology, geographers endeavoured to emulate the erosion cycle.³¹ After wide application during the 1930s and 1940s, use of the concept declined in the 1950s without having been subjected to any significant critical assessment. Unfortunately, the lack of productive criticism allowed problems associated with the concept to remain unresolved. Two years after the term was introduced, Stanley Dodge portrayed it simply as "a useful expedient" for

²⁹ Peter Scott, *Geography and Retailing* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1970), 97-100.

³⁰ In correlating the function and behaviour of a shopping centre Ronald Johnston and P. Rimmer maintain that the car was one reason shopping centres changed. Johnston, "Railways, Urban Growth and Central Place Patterns," 34-41; Ronald John Johnston and P. J. Rimmer, *Retailing in Melbourne* (Canberra: ANU, 1969), 1, 31-32.

³¹ Marvin W. Mikesell, "The Rise and Decline of 'Sequent Occupance': A Chapter in the History of American Geography," in *Geographies of the Mind: Essays in Historical Geosophy*, eds David Lowenthal and Martyn J. Bowden (New York: OUP, 1976), 164.

geographical research.³² Despite being popular for a while, attempts to extend the idea beyond use as a heuristic device faltered.³³ Although Dodge's view of 'sequent occupance' was unassuming, he simultaneously offered a breakthrough by defining three vital components of the concept. He claimed that not only were the thing or things occupying and that which they occupied important but so too was the idea of a sequence of time.³⁴

Dodge's definition is particularly relevant to this study. Here, the concept is applied to occupation of the Manly commercial centre between the 1890s and the 1950s. A detailed succession of the centre's characteristics is achieved by examining the businesses operating over this sixty-year period in smaller periods of five or six years. Using this method has made it possible to invigorate the concept of 'sequent occupance'.

It was in failing to discover a similar means of restructuring historical sequences that geographers using 'sequent occupance' reached their nadir. Although historical geography was already being practised when the concept was suggested in American geography, some of its practitioners were uncomfortable about merging history and geography. Also, the ahistorical methodology of the discipline, during the decade after 1939, probably contributed further to the decline of its use. The reluctance of contemporary geographers to include history in their research therefore underpinned the problem of trying to create a succession of geographies.

Even geographers with an interest in examining the past were hesitant about using the notion of geographical sequence because contemporary frameworks were a hindrance. There was no support for concepts which either emphasised local development, at the expense of a wider scope, or assumed that reference to a stage necessarily implied process. The latter was particularly a problem for geographers interested in material culture. Through the combination of these difficulties, restructuring a succession of geographies became an almost insurmountable

³² Stanley D. Dodge, "Sequent Occupance on an Illinois Prairie," *Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia* 29 (1931): 205.

³³ Mikesell, "The Rise and Decline of 'Sequent Occupance'," 164.

³⁴ Dodge, "Sequent Occupance on an Illinois Prairie," 205.

dilemma. Even though there was a frequent lack of co-ordination between each stage in the process a few geographers successfully linked one stage to another.³⁵

Nearly sixty years after Dodge emphasised an economically determined sequence, Kass attempted to connect various economic stages in his regional history of New South Wales. In doing so, however, Kass does not appear to adhere significantly to his own definition of 'sequent occupance'. Although he offered a reasonable explanation concerning the sequential use of the region, his approach to the processes involved in the transformation from one stage to another is less so. With a structure reliant on themes, Kass concentrates on discontinuity rather than continuity of occupations.³⁶ Further consideration of factors underlying the progression of the economic use of the area would appear more cogent.

An excellent example of 'sequent occupance' in historical writing is *Daphne Street*. In tracing the changes occurring in one of Perth's local streets Bolton places its inhabitants into a sequence of stages which he links to intrinsic and extrinsic social processes. In spite of using a method relevant to 'sequent occupance', Bolton makes no reference to the term.³⁷

Nevertheless, the term is applied here in an approach which reflects many other aspects of Bolton's streetscape. Similar to *Daphne Street*, some of the processes depicted within this work are cycles of depression and war as well as the more enduring economic and political ones. These cycles, however, are only incorporated in the present study as sub-categories under the two dominant periods of Manly as a seaside resort and Manly as a suburb.

These two major themes signify another divergence from Bolton's study. By 1925 transport and local government became inexorably entwined and, as this was simultaneously combined with the rising popularity of surfing beaches, the previous momentum of development in the Manly centre slowed. This therefore allows for a further divergence from Bolton's study through which the work is separated into

³⁵ Mikesell, "The Rise and Decline of 'Sequent Occupance'," 155-64.

³⁶ Kass, *Regional History of the North Coast*.

³⁷ Bolton, *Daphne Street*.

sections dealing with Manly's predominant uses – initially as a seaside location and later as a residential one.

Besides a difference in construction there are other distinctions between the present work and that of Bolton. One obviously is location. Another concerns occupations. Inhabitants of the small residential street in Perth were employed elsewhere while, although Manly's three streets were a combination of residential housing and retail outlets, the occupations of the majority of people represented in this study was concentrated within the latter. Therefore, the main concern of the present study is with a sequence of changes impacting on a group of shopkeepers while Bolton's study reveals modifications made by residents in *Daphne Street*. Although retail sections of the three streets examined in this study involve public use, they also represent some elements of personal space through a combination of shops and dwellings. That these were sometimes contained together under the one roof provides extra interest. Perhaps more than a residential street, such as that in Bolton's study, the three streets of Manly have a vital connection to the wider context of the suburb's development and beyond.

Further, by collating the number of shops and the different categories of goods and services they provided into concise periods, information can be presented in the form of graphs. These graphs provide evidence of significant changes taking place in the three streets being studied. Such an approach makes it possible not only to realise the total number of shops operating during five or six-yearly periods but these sub-periods also make the fluctuations in discrete business types visible for different brackets of years as well.

A tabulated form of the early history of Townsville contains a similar advantage. Helga Griffin finds that constructing a "grid" or horizontal time-lines for a regular period of years provides not only a device for keeping a lasting record of a site but also shows the appearance and disappearance of groups of related subject matter.

She recognises the latter as having an inherent analytical purpose and a texture not available through using methods based on vertical or lineal development.³⁸

Here, before the graphs were assembled, data was produced on computer-generated tables. This data was extracted from information on the owners of properties as well as the operators and types of business conducted there. While the former was taken from Certificates of Title the latter was gleaned from the 1890s to the 1950s Post Office Directories and some of it confirmed or challenged through other sources. The information was then collated into sub-periods and generated into graphs.³⁹

When these variations provided by the graphs are shown within their wider socio-political context it provides a more comprehensive view of different stages of the Manly business centre. Through placing quantified information within the broader context of the suburb and its wider framework many changes which took place in Cambridge Parade, Stratton Terrace and the Esplanade are better understood. Rather than simply being advantageous, quantifying material is an essential tool in this interpretation.

Nevertheless, quantification is not sufficient on its own. The necessity for a broader understanding of the subject remains.⁴⁰ To enhance comprehension, this study therefore draws on a wide variety of sources. In outlining the sources used, it is beneficial to present them within a framework which has been defined elsewhere. According to David Kyvig and Myron Marty, in an American work entitled *Nearby History*, there are four categories of historical traces. One category refers to traces which are immaterial. These reflect the “intangible ... remnants from the past”.⁴¹ Their converse, material traces, consists of objects and artefacts. There are also

³⁸ Helga M. Griffin, “Establishing the Early History of Townsville: Problems of Methodology and Analysis,” in *Peripheral Visions: Essays on Australian Regional and Local History*, ed. B.J. Dalton (JCU: Dept. History and Politics, 1991), 37-61.

³⁹ Kathy Goodwin, *Virtual Manly: 1890s-1950s*, CD-ROM (Brisbane: Kathy Goodwin, 2000-01), SMBBHC.

⁴⁰ Oskar Hermann Kristian Spate, “Quantity and Quality in Geography,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 50, 4 (Dec. 1960): 386-92.

⁴¹ David E. Kyvig and Myron A. Marty, *Nearby History: Exploring the Past around You* (Nashville, Tennessee: American Association for State and Local History, 1982), 47.

written (printed or inscribed) traces and, finally, representational ones such as photographs, ballads or folktales.⁴²

Sometimes, however, an investigation is hindered by a lack of sources. Before applying Kyvig and Marty's categories to the sources used here, a deficiency of sources for the Manly area is acknowledged. The first known gap in European information concerned with the vicinity of Manly resulted in the protracted exploration of Moreton Bay by Europeans as the unfamiliar environment delayed the discovery of the Brisbane River for more than fifty years after Cook had passed by it. Even more recent attempts to record Aboriginal material traces or document their lifestyles within the Brisbane area, has seemingly revealed very little specific to Manly. Therefore the lifestyle of Aborigines who lived near Manly often needs to be extrapolated from that of indigenous people associated with the much wider area.

Although the history of early European residents in the vicinity of Manly fares much better, there appears to be minimal information about James, John and David Dalziel Arnold on whose two portions the Manly centre began. On the other hand because the owner of the portion south of theirs was William Duckett White – a well-known Queensland personality whose descendents retained his home “Lota House” for about a century – information on him is more readily available. Despite White having died just prior to the known beginning of the Manly centre his lifestyle provides insights into the first sequence of European occupation of the land nearby.

There are also other relevant absences which have hampered the gathering of information. Except for one rate register prior to the creation of the Wynnum Divisional Board, there is an unfortunate absence of such records associated with Manly.⁴³ The valuable assistance of rate registers accessed by Bolton highlight the deficiency resulting from the dearth of these records all the more.

Some of the difficulties in retaining official documentation may be due to problems associated with the shift in administration. These persisted long after Manly became

⁴² *Ibid.*, 48.

⁴³ BCA, 0195, Kianawah Divisional Board, Valuation Register, ms., 1888-89.

a suburb. Documentation which was once the provenance of Wynnum was subsequently transferred to the City of Brisbane. Some, however, was still being discovered and relocated to the Brisbane City Archives almost half a century after amalgamation.⁴⁴

There is, however, also missing documentation which does not pertain to the council. Although in the 1920s the Manly and District Progress Association held monthly meetings and a Manly Traders Association was formed in the early 1950s the written records of both have seemingly disappeared. While many interviewees alluded to the existence of the records belonging to the latter, the suggestions given as to their possible whereabouts proved unfruitful.

Many useful records, however, remain. Their relevance to this study will be discussed by working backwards through the categories of Kyvig and Marty outlined above. It is from representational traces, particularly photographs, that Manly's commemorative edition, *Mangroves to Moorings*, finds its substance and strength. In preparing for its publication in 1982, Beitz, gathered old photographs covering the Wynnum, Manly and Lota area. He later donated the collection to the South Moreton Bay Bicentennial Historical Collection at the Wynnum Library. It was there and at the John Oxley Library that the majority of photographs incorporated into this thesis was examined.

Also associated with representational traces are diagrams of the Manly retail centre drawn by Harold Senden. The illustrations that Senden made towards the end of the twentieth century represent his recollection of the layout of business locations and many of their corresponding shopkeepers.⁴⁵ In lodging his diagrams with the Wynnum Manly Historical Society, Senden demonstrated his recognition of their historical significance. It is only through the diligent efforts of people such as Beitz and Senden that representational records used here are available.

⁴⁴ The chance discovery of documents was referred to in a letter to Brisbane City Archives. BCA, 0552, 15 Feb. 1974; Manly and District Progress Association, Letterhead, 192?, WMHS, Manly Esplanade; Harold Senden, "Manly Memories," ts., 1999, WHMS, SO17.

⁴⁵ Harold Senden, illustration of Manly centre, ms., 1999, WMHS, uncatalogued.

While Senden's outline of the centre and the photographs make important individual contributions they are even more invaluable when used to confirm or re-evaluate information from written material. A combination of the illustrations, photographs and evidence obtained from Certificates of Title, survey plans of subdivisions and resubdivisions as well as the Queensland Post Office Directories makes it possible not only to associate owners and/or occupiers with their addresses but often the types of business they operated as well. A useful adjunct to information obtained from these title deeds and directories comes from the Building Application Register.⁴⁶

In addition there are many extant buildings in the centre which predate the earliest of the remaining Building Application Register. Long-term local resident, Joyce Wruck, assisted with the fieldwork undertaken to observe the material evidence of remaining buildings. As visual, material evidence of the past they help to form the backbone of the streetscape by adding substance to the photographic evidence of earlier cultural landscapes.

These material sources add value to the research process. If objects of material culture, in particular vernacular architecture, are studied "as signs and symbols" it is possible for them to reveal an understanding of the choices of individuals. In doing so material culture may become primary, rather than secondary, evidence in an inquiry.⁴⁷ Here, however, material and immaterial traces are treated as complementary, though they are not overtly linked.

The relationship between traces which are clearly visible and those which, being associated with human behaviour, are less so is a complex one. According to Joseph Powell it involves a gradation from the "real" to the "perceived". While maintaining the two categories overlap, Powell defines the "real" as relating to the "phenomenal or tangible environment" and the "perceived" as that which goes beyond the precise evidence of the physical environment to the behavioural one.⁴⁸ Although the two are

⁴⁶ BCA 0018, Building Application Register, ms., 1919-45.

⁴⁷ Dell Upton, "The Power of Things: Recent Studies in American Vernacular Architecture," in *Material Culture: A Research Guide*, ed. Thomas J. Schlereth (Kansas: UPK, 1985), 71.

⁴⁸ Joseph Michael Powell, "Australian Sources for Historical Geography: A User's Report to Custodians," *Australian Historical Bibliography* 6, 1 (1982): 5.

distinct, there seems no definitive point at which to distinguish what is 'real' from that which is 'perceived'.

Kyvig and Marty explain the latter as traces which require rational discernment rather than sensory awareness. This final category of immaterial, intangible traces become apparent through institutions, customs, beliefs, practices and legends as well as written history – “the past as it has been processed by historians”.⁴⁹ Immaterial traces used in this study are oral history, graphs and sources created by historians. Many interviewees, including some who operated shops within the three streets being examined, disclosed both customs and practices as they shared how discrete businesses functioned within a wider context.

Graphs, too, are immaterial traces. Although being compiled from written sources, the accumulation of information into graphic form somewhat alters its nature. Because the graphs used here show not only the number of various types of shops but also the entire total of retail businesses in the Manly centre, they assist in the emergence of patterns occurring there between the 1890s to the 1950s. Additionally, as the introduction to Section Two of this thesis shows, preparation of the material used in the graphs also incorporates some of the complexities involved in the recounting of history.⁵⁰

The graphs are therefore somewhat akin to historical undertakings – the third immaterial trace associated with this study. Extensive histories on some topics considered here, including local areas, local government, transport and suburbanisation, have already been written previously. Even while refraining from debate, information obtained from these historical sources is often included rather than ignored completely.

An historical examination relative to the structure of this study is the one on Moreton Bay by Fisher. In it he outlines various overlapping modes of occupation. Some modes for the nineteenth century contained patterns of institutionalism, exploitation and recreation. The latter two again emerge from the 1940s to the

⁴⁹ Kyvig and Marty, *Nearby History*, 47.

⁵⁰ An explanation of this can be found on page 59.

1990s when they overlap with suburbanisation and conservation as the principal themes of the dominant mode of development.⁵¹

Using two of these themes in the main sections of this work broadens its context as Manly is explored through periods of recreation and suburbanisation. Because such developments encompass a larger area than the Moreton Bay Region applying them to this study implements what Ross Johnston saw emerging as the “newer strands” of local history in the early 1980s. These methods brought with them a combination of broader external processes, valuable insights into society and “an awareness in ourselves of our environment and our heritage”.⁵² They enable the historian of local history to move beyond the parochial level to the national and even international arena, thereby adding the important dimension of breadth.⁵³

Such an approach to local history has many aspects. Sometimes it goes under the rubric of environmental history.⁵⁴ Alternatively the term “avant garde” historical geography has been used to describe similar types of history because they incorporate a focus on changes in both geography and the cultural landscape.⁵⁵

Attempting to fill a void between Australian local history and history of the wider world, Bill Gammage proposes ways to create a new dynamic. He suggests that the formation of local communities usually involved political or economic reasons and subsequent success or failure often relied on the effects of centralisation. Further, he claims that emphasising such factors in local history would not only help in the understanding of each local story but also engage with wider historical processes.⁵⁶

While encompassing details of changes within the Manly business precinct within the framework of ‘sequent occupance’ as outlined by Dodge, many wider processes are incorporated into this study. The outcomes relevant to changes in types of businesses and their number are produced on graphs and considered within the

⁵¹ Fisher, “The History of Moreton Bay,” 100.

⁵² W. Ross Johnston, “Local History – The World,” *History Teacher* 29 (May 1982): 12.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Stephen Dovers and John Dargavel, “Environmental History – A Confluence of Disciplines,” *Australian Historical Association Bulletin* 66-67 (Mar.-June 1991): 25-26.

⁵⁵ Powell, “Australian Sources for Historical Geography,” 7-8.

⁵⁶ Bill Gammage, “A Dynamic of Local History,” in *Peripheral Visions*, ed. Dalton, 1-7.

context of social processes which are not confined solely to those which had an impact at the local level. By taking such an approach this study highlights a succession of streetscapes, influenced by a continuum of social processes ranging from some which gain momentum from within the immediate neighbourhood through to others which emerge from much further afield.

The most decisive change occurred after Manly reached its apogee as a seaside resort and became a suburb. Between the 1890s and 1925 tourist use of Manly brought enormous growth. That phase overlapped with the succeeding suburban one which evolved as Manly's proximity to Brisbane became increasingly crucial. The graph of business growth in Manly indicates a decisive change about 1925. Suburban development later resulted in a somewhat different outcome, at least until the 1950s. (Graph 1)

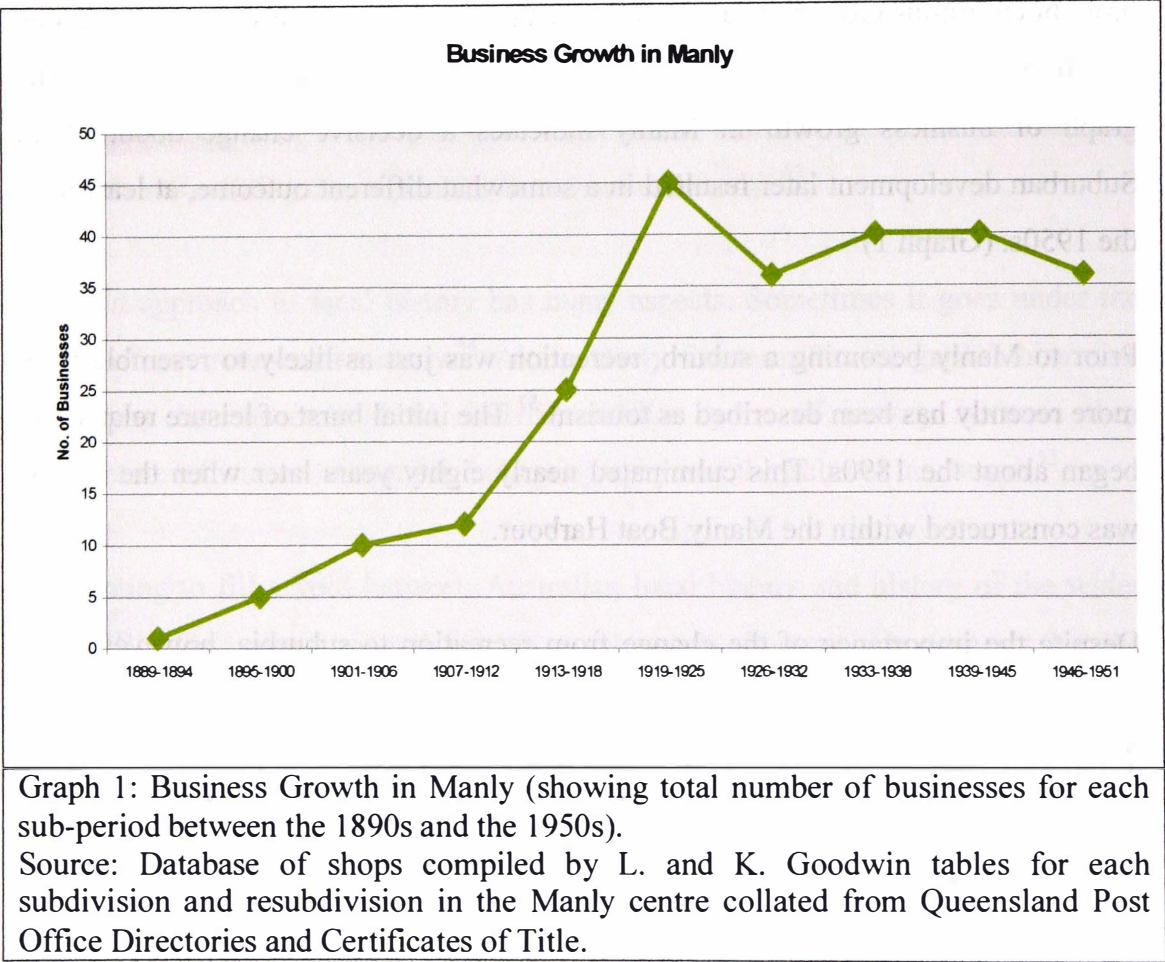
Prior to Manly becoming a suburb, recreation was just as likely to resemble what more recently has been described as tourism.⁵⁷ The initial burst of leisure related use began about the 1890s. This culminated nearly eighty years later when the marina was constructed within the Manly Boat Harbour.

Despite the importance of the change from recreation to suburbia, however, there were other factors responsible for the downturn of business within the centre. When the gradual conversion to motorised transport required a massive upgrading of roads this was used as a motive for suburbanisation. In turn, the freedom provided by the motor car and changing attitudes to bathing meant that surfing beaches, north and south of Brisbane, were becoming increasingly popular.⁵⁸

Although there was no defining interval between recreational use and suburbia it is helpful to isolate them in this thesis so that factors prior and subsequent to 1925 can be explored more thoroughly. The two main sections therefore deal separately with

⁵⁷ John Towner, *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World 1540-1940* (Chichester: Wiley, 1996), 3-4.

⁵⁸ Robert Longhurst, "The Development of the Gold Coast as a Recreational Area to 1940," History IV (Hons) thesis, UQ, 1978, 132; Helen Gregory, *Making Maroochy: A History of the Land, the People and the Shire* (Nambour: Boolarong and Maroochy Shire Council, 1991), 81-92; Robert Longhurst, *Gold Coast: Our Heritage in Focus* (South Brisbane: State Library of Queensland Foundation, 1995), 31.



Manly's phases as a resort and suburb. While the first chapters of each section focus predominantly on physical changes their ensuing chapters concentrate more on the social environment. They deal with the struggle for political and economic independence and centralisation respectively.

To enhance this understanding the genesis of certain physical and social characteristics will be covered in the first section. Chapter One of that section places Manly within its physical context. Chapter Two then focuses more on cultural than social dimensions to show a broad contrast between Aboriginal and European cultures.

Each following section will detail how the physical changes to the landscape in Manly's commercial centre have been effected by cultural or social relationships operating within not only a local agenda but also national and international agendas as well. This thesis therefore recognises that human geography and the physical environment have provided the resources for the Manly centre to develop from a seaside attraction through to a suburban centre. At every interval these evolving processes have been imbued with cultural or social connotations.

SECTION 1

GEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY

Contextual Background

When exploring the Manly business precinct within its broader context it becomes obvious that the wider natural and social world impinges to varying degrees on what occurs in a particular location. Moreover, an appreciation of the substance and extent of changes taking place in the commercial centre over six decades is enhanced by presenting them within their contextual background. Because discrete natural and social environments are essentially a derivative of larger environmental systems, Manly shares some of its distinctive characteristics with a variety of other locations.

As will become evident, the interaction of factors associated with both systems was responsible for the formation and subsequent alterations in the centre at Manly. Over time, an individual response to this interface has contributed significantly to the unique creation of some of the characteristics of the centre's streets. As the formation and later development of the centre involved the interaction of physical and social factors it is essential to explore the wider characteristics which underlie both.

In contrast to other sections this one focuses more on cultural than social factors. Reliance for a relevant distinction rests on Greg Denning's definition of culture as the "expressive dimension" of human activity and social aspects as its "relational dimension".⁵⁹ Further to this distinction, however, the attitudes which were imported along with European occupation of Australia are viewed here as a precursor and equally as detrimental, both to the land and its original inhabitants, as the implementation of those ideas into social consequences.

⁵⁹ Greg Denning, *The Bounty: An Ethnographic History* (Parkville, Vic.: UM, 1989), 115.

While the dislocation of physical and human conditions, after early European occupation, somewhat simplifies their separate treatment during subsequent periods associated with recreation and suburbanisation, local historical and archaeological studies which refer to areas near Manly often consider Aboriginal culture and physical surroundings simultaneously. Therefore, separating the two environments during the pre-European period could be detrimental to their integrity. Nevertheless, they will be organised that way from the outset in order to establish a consistent pattern for the following sections.

Although trying to isolate the indigenous population from the land is complex a further complication of this section is endeavouring to reconcile the impact that European occupation had on the centre of Manly with its broader context. This is particularly so because it is difficult to find specific reference to Aborigines who inhabited the land surrounding Manly. To some extent the lack of sources reduces the risk of distorting various aspects of the physical and cultural environments with a simplistic reduction to the local level. This, however, is little consolation for needing to extrapolate from the wider context what the lifestyle of local Aborigines might have been and the impact that Europeans had on them.

CHAPTER ONE

Pre-European Manly:

Definition

The geography, prehistory and early history of Manly are enmeshed in that of the Moreton Bay Region. Because literature associated with those three spheres of inquiry rarely identifies the area now occupied by Manly, the possibility of gleaning particulars specifically related to it is reduced. Despite this absence many aspects of Manly's wider natural context are still available.

Manly is washed by the waters of Waterloo Bay, one of several indents in the serrated edge of mainland outlining the western shores of Moreton Bay. In occupying a position along the shoreline of these bays, Manly is rare among the southeast suburbs of Brisbane. Its short eastern vista is almost engulfed by the expansiveness of the sea as Waterloo Bay opens wide into the larger Bay which extends about 80 kilometres in length and approximately 35 kilometres in width at its northern entrance.⁶⁰

Although large, Moreton Bay is shallow with only a few places reaching a depth of 30 metres. The shallowness, however, enables squalls to generate waves up to two metres high on its western side. Ironically, the lack of depth which gives the Bay the potential to be choppy inside is the consequence of line of islands providing protection for it against the ocean.⁶¹

Bribie Island constitutes the northwest section of the Bay's boundary and Moreton Island its eastern one, while North and South Stradbroke islands slope towards the southeast corner of the Bay. The latter three islands form an almost continuous

⁶⁰ Jay Hall, "Sitting on the Crop of the Bay: An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of Aboriginal Settlement and Subsistence in Moreton Bay, Southeast Queensland," in *Coastal Archaeology in Eastern Australia: Proceedings of the 1980 Valla Conference on Australian Prehistory*, ed. Sandra Bowdler (Canberra: Dept. of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, ANU, 1982), 80.

⁶¹ Michelle Ryan, ed., *Wild Guide to Moreton Bay: Wildlife and Habitats of a Beautiful Australian Coast – Noosa to the Tweed* (South Brisbane: Queensland Museum, 1998), xiii, xv.

barrier between the mainland and the Pacific Ocean. The most significant break is the South Passage between Moreton and North Stradbroke islands. Green Island which is west of the passage is northeast of, and visible from, Manly. In a progressive, slightly northeast direction lie St Helena and Mud islands. Six kilometres west of St Helena is the mouth of the Brisbane River with more islands, the largest being Fisherman Island, partly obstructing its entrance.⁶²

The coastline has been a changing one including not only the area surrounding what came to be known as Manly but the Brisbane River as well. As part of the Moreton Bay Region, the Brisbane River contributes to an inward-draining catchment. It is one of many rivers which wind coastward from the mountains to various outlets in the Bay.⁶³ According to estimates the Brisbane River was established around the time of the Permian Glacial period about 300 to 400 million years before the present (BP). Preceding this period was the second of three volcanic hiatus. Succeeding it was an increasingly tranquil period which enabled the preservation of the Proto Brisbane River fluvial system.⁶⁴ At the conclusion of the most recent Volcanic episode, debris remained in the atmosphere and screened the sun, causing episodes of transient 'freezes'. When solidified precipitation formed ice it reduced the flow to the ocean.

Subsequently sea levels dropped, with what is regarded as the normal level only being reached during 'Inter Glacial' periods.⁶⁵ While only minor fluctuations may have occurred since a drop in approximately 6000 to 3000 BP, geological evidence from southeast Queensland suggests that the level has been rising again for at least

⁶² Gillian Alfredson, "The Aboriginal Use of St. Helena Island, Moreton Bay – the Archaeological Evidence," in *Focus on Stradbroke: New Information on North Stradbroke Island and Surrounding Areas, 1974-84*, eds Roger J. Coleman, Jeanette Covacevich and Peter Davie (Brisbane: Boolarong, 1984), 1.

⁶³ Hall, "Sitting on the Crop of the Bay," 80.

⁶⁴ As the snow caps of the D'aguliar Range melted the mineral rich waters eroded the foothills before flowing east and west. Uplift prior to the latest episode (the Tertiary Volcanic) deflected the flow south and into the Proto Brisbane River. Subsequent volcanic eruption formed a barrier between the Pacific Ocean and shallow western waters. Gerald Sargent, "A Geologic History of the Brisbane River," *Housing, Health, The River and The Arts*, eds Rod Fisher and Ray Sumner, BHG Papers no. 3 (1985): 91-92.

⁶⁵ Several major periods of depressed global temperatures kept the level at approximately 200 metres below the present for considerable periods of time. During 'Inter Glacial' periods the normal sea level, of 30 to 100 metres above the contemporary level, was reached. *Ibid.*, 92-93.

the last 50 years.⁶⁶ With such irregularities it is feasible that the shoreline of southeast Queensland was once a relatively even one, lying about 40 kilometres to the east of Moreton Island.⁶⁷

Today the region enjoys a semi-tropical climate and experiences tidal variations. The average annual rainfall is between 1500-1600mm and water temperature ranges from 16 to 29 degrees Celsius, with Cape Moreton experiencing less variation. The area's diurnal tides require that flora and fauna cope with fluctuating periods of exposure and submersion as well as temperature variation.⁶⁸

It is arguable whether it is the Brisbane River or the waters of Moreton Bay which provide a greater influence on the evolution of species in the area. Since the formation of the River, changing environmental conditions would have instigated many struggles for dominance, such as the shift to a more mud-resistant variety of coral facies after a rapid drop in sea level between 3330 and 2700 BP.⁶⁹ Also, as accretion progresses there is a corresponding increase in suspended sediments from the rivers and watercourses. The consequent build up of silt and mud extends tidal flats, sea-grass beds and mangroves, thereby providing a suitable environment for a diverse range of vertebrate and invertebrate to create an intricate food chain.⁷⁰

As the eastern shores remain marine-dominated throughout the year, at no time could the description of Moreton Bay as "an estuarine extension" of its rivers be applied there.⁷¹ But, because the catchment system drains inwards, the southern and

⁶⁶ The separation of Stradbroke Island into two separate islands at the end of the nineteenth century somewhat confirms this rise. *Ibid.*, 92; Joshua Peter Bell, *Moreton Bay and How to Fathom It*, 9th ed. (Brisbane: Queensland Newspapers, 1988), 4-7; J. Covacevich, E. Durbidge and J. McInnes, "Stradbroke in Early Maps," in *Focus on Stradbroke*, eds Coleman *et al.*, 81; P. G. Flood, "A Review of Holocene Sea Level Data, Southeastern Queensland," in *Focus on Stradbroke*, eds Coleman *et al.*, 127-30; R. A. Kelley, "Previously Unpublished Notes and Photographs on the Jumpinpin Breakthrough, North Stradbroke Island," in *Focus on Stradbroke*, eds Coleman *et al.*, 152; Thomas Welsby, "The Discoverers of the Brisbane River," in *The Collected Works of Thomas Welsby*, ed. Andrew Kilpatrick Thomson, vol. 2 (Brisbane: Jacaranda, 1967), 34-35.

⁶⁷ A submerged "ancient valley" on that side of the island has been mapped. It shows the Brisbane River possibly once flowed through the area now covered by the waters of Moreton Bay and crossed Moreton Island about one third of the way down from its northern extremity of Cape Moreton. Hall, "Sitting on the Crop of the Bay," 79; Sargent, "A Geologic History of the Brisbane River," 93.

⁶⁸ Ryan, *Wild Guide to Moreton Bay*, xv, xvi.

⁶⁹ Hall, "Sitting on the Crop of the Bay," 91.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁷¹ Ryan, *Wild Guide to Moreton Bay*, xv.

western areas of the Bay, incorporating Wynnum, Manly and Lota, are provided with an annual deposit of many tonnes of sediment. This occurrence extends and maintains mangrove communities and develops an extreme habitat with a high saline content and frequent tidal inundation.⁷²

Moreover, the mangroves and conditions under which they flourish form part of the breeding ground for many of the Bay's marine creatures and therefore they are a vital link in the food chain. The area beneath the mangroves is an ecological niche of the larger ecosystem, known as the coastal lowlands or "Wallum" zone. This zone which forms a discontinuous belt of lowlands along the seaboard of eastern and southern Australia comprises over one third of the 21,444 square kilometres of the Moreton Bay Region. It includes offshore islands and contains land largely etched out in response to the beaches, estuaries and freshwater streams it surrounds.

Vegetation confined to the belt is clearly distinctive from that of the wet sclerophyll zone further west where the low ridge and valley system provides improved soil and drainage.⁷³ The poverty of the soil of the coastal lowlands is brought about by a lack of surface litter and organic material which in turn results from instability within the system. Because of nutritional deficiencies in the soil, grazing animals have not been prolific, either before or after European occupation.⁷⁴

Despite its low fertility, however, the soil is capable of supporting heaths as well as fringing, dune and a variety of Wallum forests. While the dunes and swamps contain many different shrubs, sedges and grasses, various species of eucalypt supply much of the canopy. Swamps of tea tree (*Melaleuca quinquinervia*) and the fern *Blechnum indicum* are common and frequently extend more than 80 kilometres in from the coast.⁷⁵

⁷² Hall, "Sitting on the Crop of the Bay," 80.

⁷³ J. Edward Coaldrake, "The Ecosystem of the Coastal Lowlands ("Wallum") of Southern Queensland," *CSIRO Bulletin* 283 (1961): 6. Hall, "Sitting on the Crop of the Bay," 80.

⁷⁴ There a number of reasons climax is either thwarted or not able to persist for more than five years in some landscapes. These are modification by fire (even before European habitation), climatic variations, wind damage and a deep sand mantle. Coaldrake, "The Ecosystem of the Coastal Lowlands," 6, 66-70.

⁷⁵ Hall, "Sitting on the Crop of the Bay," 80; Neale Draper, "Food resources of the Moreton Bay Aborigines," *Occasional Papers in Anthropology* 10 (1980): 142.

There are, however, at least two other factors which operate to reduce the effects of the soil's poor nutrient status. One, a geological factor, affects Manly and somewhat sets it apart from its neighbouring suburbs of Wynnum and Lota with their low-lying creeks. The other factor is geographical and relates to the larger Moreton Region in general. Some areas associated with the coastal lowlands, such as Manly and St Helena Island, have inherited a valuable type of soil referred to as Red Earth Residuals. Walter Bryan proposed that the Red Earths were formed during an earlier, wetter climate and their residuals were once part of flat-topped or miniature plateaux areas from which later surface features were carved. Places such as Redcliffe, Redland Bay and Redbank Plains were named after the most persistent visual characteristic of these soils; but the red colour is not the only or even a necessary criterion by which to identify them. Like all other points along the coastline which have a similar topography, Manly occupies a slightly elevated, although not entirely level, position from which, at the highest point, a steep cliff faces Moreton Bay.⁷⁶

While in providing a breathtaking panoramic view of the Bay the cliff has contributed to Manly's residential appeal, Red Earth Residuals have made a valuable contribution to its soil status. Residential development in and around Manly has eliminated the lifestyle which, almost from the time of the first land sales, was associated with those agriculturally compatible soils. Some pockets of red colouration, however, still attest to the soil's high nutrient status, even though the market gardens and small-crop farms it once sustained have disappeared.⁷⁷

A factor which compensates for the low soil fertility of the general area, however, is geographic position and the effect this has on fauna and flora. The remarkable biodiversity of the Moreton Region is a legacy of southeast Queensland's capacity to form unusual communities. As the Region holds an intermediate position between Australia's tropical and temperate zones it is endowed with an overlap of northern and southern fauna and flora. It therefore effectively supports both tropical

⁷⁶ Walter Heywood Bryan, "The Red Earth Residuals and their Significance in South-eastern Queensland," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Queensland* 50, 4 (1939): 21-31.

⁷⁷ The last small farm in Manly, situated on Manly Road, produced its final crop of strawberries in 2002. It is presently being developed as the Moreton Bay Boys' College.

and temperate species. Given such an ideal position the Region has been claimed as one of the most favourable environmental settings in Australia.⁷⁸

The main attributes of Moreton Bay's fauna and flora have been diversity and abundance. Although generally the soil may be low in nutrient status and its vegetation in a constant state of flux, over half of the sixty-odd species of terrestrial land mammals of the Moreton Region have been recorded there. Also, despite its lack of fertility, the undulating lowland belt contributes to the diversity of over 440 species of avifauna. This is an impressive representation of over half of the birds of Australia, many of which are seasonal migrants. Additionally, there are over 100 known species of reptiles ranging from freshwater turtles to goannas and snakes.⁷⁹

There was, therefore, a plentiful supply of food for the Aborigines. Historical and archaeological examinations show resources available to the Aborigines from the land and, more particularly, from the sea. Using a variety of sources, Neale Draper explains the extensive variety of food, the habitats from which it was obtained and seasonal indicators used by the Aborigines.⁸⁰ Although less historically comprehensive, Jay Hall reveals the conditions associated with the "times of abundance" for fishing. By using archaeological evidence from the northern section of Moreton Bay he convincingly illustrates that Aborigines in the area lived "a life of plenty".⁸¹ While water moving into the Bay fostered habitats for a huge diversity of marine and intertidal fauna – "a potential 'seafood supermarket' for human populations to exploit" – Aborigines "harvesting the crop of the bay" had many other food sources available to them.⁸²

One of those additional food sources was especially available to Aborigines living in the Waterloo Bay area. When the water was calm they crossed from Wynnum to St Helena Island in their canoes. There the Aborigines took advantage of the large

⁷⁸ Ryan, *Wild Guide to Moreton Bay*, xvi; Hall, "Sitting on the Crop of the Bay," 80; Draper, "Food Resources of the Moreton Bay Aborigines," 144.

⁷⁹ Hall, "Sitting on the Crop of the Bay," 80.

⁸⁰ Draper, "Food Resources of the Moreton Bay Aborigines," 126-30.

⁸¹ Hall, "Sitting on the Crop of the Bay," 82, 86.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 80-91.

colony of flying foxes which used the Island, by capturing them as they slept during the day.⁸³

Archaeological investigations, in and around the Bay, have not only disclosed the food resources of the Aborigines but also assessments of the number of Aborigines relative to particular locations. Through radiocarbon dating on Moreton and Bribie islands and at Toorbul Point, on the mainland, the sites examined have been determined to fall well within the range of the past 2000 years.⁸⁴ Investigations on St Helena Island, however, suggest exploitation of resources was occurring several hundred years earlier. This compares with estimates for the Brisbane River Valley which go as far back as 4500 years. Hall argues that, rather than reflect reality, such results could have more to do with either an insufficient number of sites or, alternatively, that the deficiency in the east could be related to incursions of the sea.⁸⁵ It may not be a coincidence that the dates for St Helena are earlier than the more eastern islands and that archaeological evidence, from the former, shows a growing intensification of the use of resources. It is highly conceivable that entire families of Aborigines moved progressively eastward after the sea level dropped. The possibility agrees with one of Gillian Alfredson's suggestions that exploitation of resources on St Helena "was entirely an opportunistic response to increased accessibility".⁸⁶ That explanation, however, is not the only one Alfredson offers. She also proposes that an expansion in regional population had a corresponding effect on the composition of middens which made them resemble those typical of the mainland.⁸⁷ Although it is difficult to confidently establish the area's population density, what seems clear from estimates is that Moreton Bay's population range (between one and five square kilometres per person) was considerably higher than that (of ten to twenty square kilometres per person) for the sub-coastal region of southeast Queensland.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, an increase in accessibility and a rise in

⁸³ Draper, "Food resources of the Moreton Bay Aborigines," 136; John G. Steele, *Aboriginal Pathways in Southeast Queensland and the Richmond River* (St Lucia: UQP, 1983), 110.

⁸⁴ Ellie Durbidge, "Aboriginal Middens, North Stradbroke Island," in *Focus on Stradbroke*, eds Coleman *et al.*, 9; Hall, "Sitting on the Crop of the Bay," 91-92.

⁸⁵ The second part of Jay Hall's argument concurs with the previously mentioned drop in sea level, i.e. 6000-3000 BP, which was described as a particularly rapid one for 3330-2700 BP. *Ibid.*; Alfredson, "The Aboriginal Use of St Helena Island," 6.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Hall, "Sitting on the Crop of the Bay," 84.

population density are not mutually exclusive given the advantages of “sitting on the crop of the Bay”.⁸⁹ It is therefore possible that St Helena (just off Manly) not only shared a relatively high Aboriginal population with other areas of Moreton Bay but that unlike those counterparts was settled well before.

Despite the abundance of food around Moreton Bay, resources were still prone to seasonal irregularities and this had an effect on the Aborigines. Having examined ethnographic literature concerning Aboriginal gatherings in southeast Queensland, Hilary Sullivan maintains that, while in general there was an “inland summer/coastal winter dichotomy”, Aborigines probably mobilized themselves in favourable seasons in an endeavour to intensify their exploitation of specific areas.⁹⁰ They converged on the Blackall Range for the ‘Bunya Gathering’ from a ‘catchment area’ of about 47,000 square kilometres.⁹¹

Perhaps those who came from the Cleveland area, or passed through it, often trod the path taken by Thomas Pamphlet, Richard Parsons and John Finnegan in 1823. The three men were an ex-convict boat crew who became lost in a gale when collecting a cargo of cedar from Illawarra. When they landed on Moreton Island they mistakenly thought they were south of Sydney and resolved to continue in a northward direction. As they walked around the bay, rather than risk the daunting task of paddling across it in a canoe, they stumbled on a track. When John Uniacke later recorded an account of their unusual experience, Pamphlet told him “the mangroves were so thick that we could not long keep the shore, but followed a native path which seemed to lead in the direction we wished to proceed in. On the third day we arrived on the bank of a large river, at a place where it was evident the natives used to cross over”.⁹² After chronologically plotting the course taken by the three castaways, John Steele identified the spot as the mouth of the Brisbane River

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁹⁰ Hilary Sullivan, “Aboriginal Gatherings in South-east Queensland,” BA (Hons) thesis, Dept. of Prehistory and Anthropology, ANU, 1977, 6.

⁹¹ This represented only about half the area from which Aborigines came to attend Bunya Mountains’ feasts. *Ibid.*, 19.

⁹² John Uniacke, “Narrative of Thomas Pamphlet,” in *Geographical Memoirs on New South Wales*, ed. Baron Fields (London: John Murray, 1825), 117-18; John G. Steele, “Pamphlet, Uniacke and Field,” *Queensland Heritage* 2, 3 (Nov. 1970): 3.

at Lytton, just north of Wynnum.⁹³ The path which skirted the mangroves (through or around the area now known as Manly) was perhaps one Aborigines used as they crossed through the territories of other groups on their way to gatherings.

Steele has presented a comprehensive work on Aboriginal boundaries. It not only provides a thorough examination of the relevant limits for areas associated with each group but is also enriched by his knowledge and sensitivity for the Moreton Bay area, acquired through conducting many examinations of it for historical and scientific purposes. The primary focus for Steele's identification of the boundaries of each Aboriginal group is language. He shows Brisbane was the centre of the Yuggera language group. Above their northern border were the Waka-Kabic group, and their neighbours to the south were the Bundjalung language group. The area occupied and traversed by people who belonged to the Yuggera group extended from the Moreton Bay islands to waters at the head of the Bremer River and Lockyer Creek, around Ipswich and Gatton.⁹⁴

Yuggera comprised four sub-groups. One of those groups was the Gowar of Moreton Island. The long-term isolation of the Island had ensured a distinctive language from that of Stradbroke Island and the mainland. Also belonging to Yuggera were the Jandai-speaking ("Jendev-vul") people. Because they resided on the shore of the mainland between the Brisbane and Logan rivers as well as North Stradbroke Island and smaller islands between Mud and Macleay islands (respectively north and south of Manly) they are especially relevant to this study. The Jendev-vul people were one of the groups who established a relatively stable settlement on the coast. Even while not travelling, though, they moved their huts, including foundations, onto fresh ground to avoid fleas.⁹⁵

Of the two types of Aboriginal huts Tom Petrie described, the more common and smaller one was always used inland while the larger ones he associated with the coastline were wider and held up to ten people. Unlike the smaller huts, for which a long sapling was bent until it began to split, the foundation for the larger ones

⁹³ Steele, "Pamphlet, Uniacke and Field," 11-12; John Uniacke, "Narrative of Thomas Pamphlet," in *Explorers of the Moreton Bay District 1770—1830*, ed. John G. Steele (St Lucia: UQP, 1972), 69.

⁹⁴ John G. Steele, *Aboriginal Pathways*, 85-159.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

required four similar saplings be bent, though not cracked, until almost resembling hoops. These were crossed over each other and, with equal distance between the gaps, both ends were stuck into the earth to create a dome-like structure. Pushing sticks into the ground at one end and tying their upper ends to the hoops filled all but one of the gaps. This empty space was prepared as a doorway by positioning a large piece of bark on top and allowing it to hang partly over so that only a small entrance was left. Tea-tree bark, readily available on the coast, was used to cover the hut and kept in position by placing heavy sticks against it. Because construction of the larger huts allowed a fire to be kept going inside, they were warmer than the smaller huts, which had their fire at the entrance.⁹⁶

Seemingly, it was the larger huts which were built around Manly. Not only were these and the tea-tree bark which was used to cover them identified as belonging to the coast but also similar huts were recorded at Amity Point, in the early 1820s.⁹⁷ Being on North Stradbroke Island, Amity was inhabited by the same group of Aborigines associated with the area around Manly.

Today, however, evidence of the Aborigines' use of land close to Manly has disappeared. Although a number of bora grounds and debarked trees have been recorded within the boundaries of these "Jendev-vul" people any mention of those artefacts in relation to Manly has not been found.⁹⁸ At least until 1924 some of the remaining Aborigines were camped on Subdivision A of Portion 63 which was owned by the Wynnum Town Council and categorised as property not for sale. This location is just north of Oyster Point at Wynnum.⁹⁹ A few contemporary residents can still recall an Aboriginal camp on saltpans in that vicinity but the group who lived there have long gone.

Reputedly Manly contained a ceremonial ground where, at full moon when the tea-trees were flowering, the Aborigines held a special ritual to obtain acceptance from

⁹⁶ Constance Campbell Petrie, *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of Early Queensland* (Brisbane: Watson, Ferguson, 1904), 99-100.

⁹⁷ Thomas Pamphlet cited in Steele, "Pamphlet, Uniacke and Field," 5; A. Cunningham, cited in Steele, *Aboriginal Pathways*, 99.

⁹⁸ Steele, *Aboriginal Pathways*, 100-14.

⁹⁹ QSA, A1/43, Sheet 1, *Map of Wynnum and Manly, Parish of Tingalpa - County of Stanley*, Brisbane: Outridge, 1903; BCA, 0132, Wynnum Town Council, Minutes, 10 Mar. 1924, 1419.

their Ancestors. One of the last of the local Aborigines told Ron Schmidt, who owned a business in Cambridge Parade, that Manly was known as “Narlung” – the place of the long shadows. The name has been connected with the tea-trees through the suggestion that their shadows were longest when the moon was full.¹⁰⁰

The reference, however, could equally be applied to a narrow section, along the Esplanade, just south of Cambridge Parade. Now the strip of road there has a shadow cast over it for much of the day. These daylight shadows are the result of trees or mangroves on one side of the Esplanade and the cliff face of Lota Hill on the other.

Regardless of whether the name the Aborigines gave the area referred to the shadows of the night or those of the day, the contrast between these could not have been as dramatic as the changes which loomed after 1823. When the Aborigines helped Pamphlet, Parsons and Finnegan on their journey north they surely never imagined the extraordinary impact that their encounter with white people would bring. The outcome not only had an effect on the land on which they lived but their race as well.

While geological features of the area and its fauna and flora still remain a source for the physical aspects of the immediate area’s pre-European occupation, information on other related elements can only be gleaned from more general sources. There appears to be no recorded artefacts for the immediate area. Even records of Aboriginal tracks and huts need to be extrapolated from the observations of the castaways and reminiscences of Tom Petrie. Within four decades of Pamphlet, Parsons and Finnegan passing by or through it the land was divided into portions and meted out for European occupation.

Two decades later when it was redivided into subdivisions Cambridge Parade had already replaced part of an old government road which may have incorporated some of the castaways’ course. After becoming Portion 33v some of that road was

¹⁰⁰ Tom Petrie’s reminiscences confirm “Narlung” as the Aboriginal name for Manly but he gives no indication of its meaning. *Log*, newsletter 1, 1 (Manly Harbour Village Management, 1991), 1, JOL, Brisbane – Suburbs - Manly; Petrie, *Tom Petrie’s Reminiscences*, 317; Stan Kenwick, “Manly – the Place of Long Shadows,” in *Moreton Bay People*, ed. Ludlow, 120.

included in Manly's commercial centre. Having been resurveyed into Portion 33v the southern section of the old road is now obsolete but much of the original road still remains. The extant section extends from about mid-way through Mountjoy Terrace, becomes Tingal Road and then crosses Wynnum Creek to head north to Lytton.¹⁰¹ It is therefore possible that this road bears some relationship to the native track used by the three castaways. (Appendix I)

Before being realigned the entire road formed part of the division for various portions of land in the Manly and Wynnum area. At the southern section of the road, in the vicinity of Cambridge Parade, it was the boundary for Portions 57 and 78 in the County of Stanley, Parish of Tingalpa. Subsequently, the commercial centre of Manly was constructed on the subdivisions of these portions.

After the section of the old government road near the contemporary shopping centre was closed it became Portion 33v of the same County. Cambridge Parade later intersected that Portion, rendering its position nebulous on some certificates of title. For a period of time some of the subdivisions on either side of this narrow Portion were subjected to the confusion of whether to allocate them to Portion 57 or 78.¹⁰²

These Portions were not subdivided until 20 years after they had first been sold. The original title of land belonged to Thomas Jones. In July 1882, the three Arnold brothers each purchased one undivided third of both. Subdivisions of Portion 78 began selling the same year and five years later the sale of the subdivisions of Portion 57 followed.¹⁰³ In the notice of public auction for the latter, "Manly Beach" was described as the "premier watering place of Queensland" only ten miles (16 kilometres) from Brisbane. Potential buyers were enticed to the estate by the offer of free return trips on steamers, wagons and busses, provision of lunch and the claim that "for scenery, fishing, boating and bathing it is unequalled".¹⁰⁴ So began

¹⁰¹ QSA, A1/43, Sheet 1, *Map of Wynnum and Manly*.

¹⁰² QDNR, David Rayner, Certificate of Title, 16 Nov. 1882, vol. 443, fol. 129; QDNR, William Ross, Certificate of Title, 12 Mar. 1883, vol. 454, fol. 164; QDNR, John Beaumont Hellawell, Certificate of Title, 26 Feb. 1894, vol. 871, fol. 52; QDNR, Catherine Moss, Certificate of Title, 6 Jan. 1896, vol. 902, fol. 79; QDNR, William Shaw, Certificate of Title, 17 Apr. 1896, vol. 906, fol. 3; QDNR, Henry Walter Sleath, Certificate of Title, 18 Nov. 1897, vol. 927, fol. 238.

¹⁰³ QDNR, David Dalziel Arnold, Certificate of Title, 21 July 1882, vol. 430, fol. 197; QDNR, James Arnold, Certificate of Title, 21 July 1882, vol. 430, fol. 195.

¹⁰⁴ SMBBHC, HF no. 88, *Manly Beach*, estate plan (Arthur Martin, 1887).

the sale of the location around the junctions where Cambridge Parade crosses the Esplanade and Stratton Terrace.

Less than sixty years after the castaways had wandered through the area in the hope of reaching Sydney, Manly faced the prospect of an unprecedented growth and the need for some form of commerce to sustain it. Before the physical side of that growth is dealt with in the second section of this work, some of the cultural aspects of the initial changes which took place after the arrival of Europeans are addressed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

European, man-made Manly:

Redefinition

An excellent geographic position and favourable environmental setting have enabled the human occupation of Manly to span thousands of years and a variety of uses. Enormous shifts in the natural and cultural environment had already begun just over one hundred years after Captain Cook passed by Moreton Bay. Despite the view that both these environments are usually interwoven in an evolving process and most shifts are part of a continuum, this chapter deals with the major disruption caused by the arrival of Europeans.

While the effects of the new occupation pervaded the whole continent certain aspects were particularly pertinent to the area around Manly. As the new arrivals began to occupy the land they embarked on a process of redefining the landscape. This was a precursor to later sequences in the Manly centre's occupation.

The changes most relevant to the development of Manly's business centre were those occurring on or near Portions 57 and 78 which had their east boundaries on the high-water mark of Waterloo Bay. Not much more than a decade after the sale of the first of those subdivisions commenced, in 1882, businesses began to emerge. Commerce associated with Manly's nascent centre appeared on either side of Portion 33v and included that obsolete government road which connected the other two portions.¹⁰⁵

Until the 1890s many of the changes associated with Manly were a component of general developments occurring within Australia, Queensland and more pertinently the Moreton Bay area. Rod Fisher outlines a variety of ways in which the latter was exploited. He mentions types of use and abuse which were not discrete but usually

¹⁰⁵ QSA A1/43 Sheet 1, *Map of Wynnum and Manly, Parish of Tingalpa – County of Stanley*, 1903.

flowed from one mode to another.¹⁰⁶ In each era, however, some undertakings were more dominant than others. Previously enlarged on was the first era of “Configuration”. Also introduced was the “Dreamtime” which will be continued here with regard to the dramatic decline of Aboriginal culture. These are germane to European redefinition of the area.

There were also other undertakings relevant to the social background of Manly before 1890. Prior to the Moreton Bay area became stabilised into scattered settlements trial and error dominated for decades. The impact which European settlements had on natural resources was a legacy of earlier eras. From the 1840s to 1870s, there was some experimentation with recreation and institutionalism. For twenty years prior to that, the newcomers had begun to test their dominance through systems of incarceration and institutionalism. Previously the principal preoccupation had been exploration and survey.¹⁰⁷

Other studies extend some of the factors involved in these modes and themes beyond the parameters of Moreton Bay to encompass Queensland or even Australia. In examining the perception which Europeans held about the time of discovering and occupying Australia, Ronald Heathcote presents a process involved in the formation of attitudes towards the new land which consists of three major interacting components. One was the object of perception, the continent itself. Observers, another component, included diverse individuals, groups or institutions sufficiently interested to be involved in matters concerning the continent’s landscapes. Between both groups was the media or methods for transmitting information from the former to the latter.¹⁰⁸ In a schema of environmental visions Kevin Frawley describes the nineteenth century onwards as an “exploitative pioneering” phase; influenced by human thought, cultural background, colonialism/imperialism, rational principles, scientific theory, agrarian idealism and

¹⁰⁶ Rod Fisher, “The History of Moreton Bay: A Saga of Lost Dreams,” in *Brisbane: Moreton Bay Matters*, ed. Murray Johnson, BHG Papers no. 19 (2002).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 100-20.

¹⁰⁸ Ronald Leslie Heathcote, “Early European Perception of the Australian Landscape: The First Hundred Years,” in *Man and Landscape in Australia: Towards an Ecological Vision*, eds George Seddon and Mari Davis (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1976), 30, 34.

policies associated with it.¹⁰⁹ Here a number of these will be integrated with the components of the process nominated by Heathcote and relevant themes described by Fisher.

Some of these themes and factors become obvious when examining early landowners at Manly. Although the three Arnold brothers owned the portions of land on which the businesses in the Manly precinct developed, resources associated with their neighbour, William Duckett White, are more comprehensive. For the last thirty years of his life White resided a little south of the present hub of Manly, overlooking Moreton Bay. Soon after Portions 78 and 57 were subdivided for sale their owners, the Arnolds, appeared in the directories as graziers. One of them, David, was eventually entered as a grazier under Manly. While he obviously had a background in grazing, David may already have retired from that occupation to become a stock-buyer by the time he moved there.¹¹⁰ William Duckett White was also a grazier. White, the first purchaser of Portion 79, had already been residing on it for nearly 20 years when the Arnolds bought to the north of him. In 1867, White transferred some of it, along with other parcels of land, to his wife Jane. She named both the estate and the house on it “Lota”. The latter which has been retained on the property is a two-storey residence influenced by Georgian architecture.¹¹¹ It would surely have been an imposing structure for the original inhabitants of the land who were used to simpler dwellings.

In addition, White’s land dealings would have brought challenges for the Aborigines, not only around “Lota” but also further afield. Although White had no assets himself, his access to capital enabled him to pursue opportunities. Nevertheless, he suffered during his first venture at Richmond River and faced difficulty establishing a property outside Charters Towers. In 1845 he apparently managed the huge “Beau Desert” station and became a squatter at Cleveland before

¹⁰⁹ Kevin Frawley, “Evolving Visions: Environmental Management and Nature Conservation in Australia,” in *Australian Environmental History: Essays and Cases*, ed. Stephen Dovers (Melbourne: OUP, 1994), 61.

¹¹⁰ W. Frederic Morrison, *Aldine History of Queensland* (Sydney: Aldine, 1888), 310; QPOD, 1889-1903.

¹¹¹ White, *An Early Settler*, 170-72; QDNR, David Dalziel Arnold, Certificate of Title, 21 July 1882, vol. 430, fol 197; QDNR, James Arnold, Certificate of Title, 21 July 1882, vol. 430, fol. 195; “Lota House – Edwin Marsden Tooth Memorial Home,” in AHPI 2002, online, 22 May 2002, identifier no. 600247 <<http://www.heritage.gov.au>>.

buying land there, when it was first released for sale in the early 1850s.¹¹² More pertinently, on White's Manly property, Maud Mills, his granddaughter, recalled the paddocks beyond the stables which contained a hut housing South Sea Islanders. She also remembered cow bales, fowl houses, pigsties and barns for crops grown as fodder for horses and cows on flats near a muddy tidal creek.¹¹³ Even more so than the house, this new sequence in land occupation would have been a confronting one for Aborigines.

The land referred to by Mills must have been the south boundary of Portion 90, now known as Lota Creek, which White originally purchased in common with George Herbert and John Bramston.¹¹⁴ Herbert, the Whites' closest friend, became the first Premier of Queensland after having been secretary to Governor Bowen who was a frequent visitor to "Lota". It was possibly White's connection with Herbert which led to the invitation for White to become an inaugural member of the Legislative Council. White initially declined the invitation so that he could oversee the construction of "Lota House". It was not until the end of the first session that he, along with many others, joined the original eleven members of the Council. White resigned in 1880, having lasted nineteen years of his appointment for life. The most remarkable characteristic of his term was reported to have been a lack of speeches and his overall silence.¹¹⁵

Despite his reticence White was very community minded. He was an early member of the Bulimba Divisional Board which was a precursor to the Wynnum Divisional

¹¹² Although the township of Beaudesert (later established around the stock run) was written as one word, the property was originally shown as two separate words. While it is unsure how much of this property William Duckett White acquired through mortgage he eventually extended his holdings by buying land from Southport through to Cleveland, then further north to what became known as Lota. In 1861 White invested in property northwest of Charters Towers with his two sons Ernest and Albert. Norman S. Pixley, "William Duckett White of 'Beau Desert' and 'Lota'," *Royal Historical Society of Queensland* 8, 2 (1966-67): 376-79, 383; Dushen Salecich, "Brisbane, Ipswich or Cleveland: The Capital Port Question at Moreton Bay 1842-59," *Brisbane: People, Places and Pageantry*, BHG Papers no. 6 (1987): 82; Michael W. D. White, *An Early Settler: The Duckett White Family in Australia* (Ashgrove, Qld: Hennessy, 1990), 89; Michael W. D. White, "The Founders of Lota House," ts., (Nov. 1992), 3-4, WMHS, papers no. 27; Joanne Rose Ritale, "Old Cleveland Commercial and Civic Precinct: A Cultural Heritage Study," BA (Hons) thesis, Dept. of History, UQ, 2000, 22.

¹¹³ Maud Mills, cited in White, "The Founders of Lota House," 6.

¹¹⁴ White subsequently bought the interests of the other two. QSA, AG5 Sheet 6a, *Parish of Tingalpa, County of Stanley, Queensland*, map, 1863; White, *An Early Settler*, 170-72;

¹¹⁵ Pixley, "William Duckett White of 'Beau Desert' and 'Lota'," 376, 381-82; White, *An Early Settler*, 82; White, "The Founders of Lota House," 5.

Board. As well, he was a foundation member of the Queensland Club, a Justice of the Peace and a churchwarden at the Tingalpa Anglican Church.¹¹⁶

White also had the fortitude to persevere with grazing, against many odds. Even through the good seasons there was hardship at “Beau Desert” because increased stock created a glut on the markets and workers who fled to the gold-diggings in 1851-52 left behind an increasingly difficult situation for those remaining. More generally, however, droughts were intolerable for graziers. They occurred in the 1860s and contributed to the 1890s depression. The complex issues surrounding the latter provided the opportunity for the triumph of the more enduring alternative of the rural view of closer settlement, previously favoured by colonial governors.¹¹⁷

It has been suggested that rather than the ideas of the newcomers being modified willingly, the land itself sometimes painfully thrust change upon them. When the first colonists arrived the land had been isolated for millions of years and had its own unique flora and fauna. The new arrivals found their “cultural baggage” a “poor fit”.¹¹⁸

In promoting a mutuality of response between Anglo-Australians and their new land, Thomas Dunlap claims the latter “battered the ideas as much as it blunted and broke the tools”.¹¹⁹ He believes, however, that because this entailed a less perceptible and slower response, the mutuality was concealed. In extending his argument, Dunlap states that unlike other countries where Europeans had attempted to reproduce their own society, Australia was the least like their homeland and therefore the most resistant.¹²⁰

The new culture was initially not only at odds with the land but also with the original inhabitants of the land. Frawley attributes this to the contrasting world-views of the Aborigines and those who had newly arrived. The latter brought with

¹¹⁶ White, *An Early Settler*, 83-89, 189.

¹¹⁷ Pixley, “William Duckett White of ‘Beau Desert’ and ‘Lota’,” 378; White, *An Early Settler*, 89; Frawley, “Evolving Visions,” 62-63.

¹¹⁸ Thomas R. Dunlap, “Australian Nature, European Culture: Anglo Settlers in Australia,” *Environmental History Review* 17, 1 (Spring 1993): 2627.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* 26.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

them ideas of the Enlightenment, backed by scientific enterprise which ultimately began to promote a dichotomy between nature and culture. In contrast, the Aborigines' ideas of nature and culture were "inextricably bound together in a cosmology referred to as the Dreaming".¹²¹

Eventually the Aborigines' understanding of their terrain either disappeared or provided them no refuge from European rule. Conflict, epidemics and the adoption of European lifestyles took their toll.¹²² Where governmental administration was absent pioneers usually determined how a particular situation would be handled. Even when policies regarding Aborigines were introduced, they had a detrimental effect because Aborigines were defined as British subjects and became engaged in an "undeclared war".¹²³ Five years after being introduced in 1859, the Queensland Native Mounted Police were legalised and became involved in the displacement of local Aborigines as they thwarted the escape of wanted Aborigines by pursuing and apprehending them in terrain which once would have afforded an advantage to those fleeing.¹²⁴

Before Cook entered the waters surrounding Australia, Europeans had considered land and race were linked, albeit that some races were ascribed more right to, or at least control of, the land than others. International politics, especially that of France and Britain, was partly responsible for the contest which sought to confirm the existence of the great south continent. Both nations took varying degrees of inspiration from Spain's notion of a universal world order and the presumed right of "lordship over the entire world".¹²⁵

Nevertheless, it took a long time after Cook's visit for such attitudes to impact on the original inhabitants of Moreton Bay. The physical difficulties the Bay presented was partially responsible for this. Obstructed by mud flats and obscured by

¹²¹ Frawley, "Evolving Visions," 58.

¹²² Heathcote, "Visions of Australia 1770-1970," 79.

¹²³ Les Malezer, *Beyond the Act*, vol. 1 (Foundation for Aboriginal and Islander Research Action, 1979), 9, 20.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*; Raymond Evans, Kay Saunders and Kathryn Cronin, *Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination: Race Relations in Colonial Queensland* (Sydney: Australia and New Zealand Book), 55-56.

¹²⁵ Anthony Pagden, *Lords of all the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500-c. 1800* (New Haven: YUP, 1995), 8.

mangroves, the mainland was protected from extensive European access for over fifty years. It took at least that long after Cook's visit for them to find the Brisbane River. In 1770 Joseph Banks assumed a great river ran into the Bay but Cook disagreed.¹²⁶ Nearly thirty years later Matthew Flinders explored south to Coochie Mudlo Island but was convinced that in the entire voyage he had not bypassed a river of any importance – an impression he did not alter three years later. Others too missed it. In early 1822 John Bingle entered the Bay. When he returned to Sydney William Lawrence Edwardson set out and using a boat proceeded even further south into the Bay than Bingle. His log resembles that of Flinder's as both blamed lack of progress into the south section of the Bay, offshore from Manly, on mangrove islands, mud flats, oyster and muscle beds, shoals, sandy land and irregular or narrow channels. Those obstacles caused a "blind spot", even for prominent navigators. Being used to the well-defined river estuaries of the British Isles, they did not expect to find large rivers entering the sea under such conditions.¹²⁷ A year later, when John Oxley found Pamphlet and Finnegan on Bribie Island they told him of the river they travelled down when on their northward journey. Oxley eventually located the river and named it after the governor under whose orders he had examined the Bay. As an obstacle to European settlement, Moreton Bay shielded the Aborigines from intrusion long after Cook had passed by it.¹²⁸

Even before Oxley arrived in Moreton Bay previously held hopes of creating a good relationship with the Aborigines had begun to fade. By the time of Cook's exploration harmonious exchange with indigenous people was part of the new thinking devised to replace conquest. Many contemporaries of the explorers and scientists on the *Endeavour* would have been influenced by ideas of the Romantic revival which viewed the Aborigines as noble savages.¹²⁹ Cook carried "secret" directives urging him to foster friendship and trade, if he found indigenous

¹²⁶ Banks, a Fellow of England's pre-eminent scientific body, the Royal Society, was leader of a group of scientists who were a belated component of the *Endeavour*. James Connal Gill, *The Missing Coast: Queensland Takes Shape* (South Brisbane: Queensland Museum, 1988), 169.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 126, 169-236.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 186-87.

¹²⁹ The new approach was not only humanitarian but also self-protection partly devised to safeguard seafarers and prevent the waste of economic resources which occurred with enforced labour. Henry Reynolds, "Racial Thought in Early Colonial Australia," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 20, 1 (Apr. 1974): 47-51; Frawley, "Evolving Visions," 65; Pagden, *Lords of all the World*, 6-10; Urs Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492-1800*, trans. Richie Robertson (Cambridge: Polity, 1998), 166.

people.¹³⁰ Except for the “skirmish” Flinders encountered, early explorers had positive impressions of Moreton Bay’s indigenous people. Nevertheless, Edwardson’s log attests to his nervousness about landing. He possibly had inhibitions about venturing too far from recognised routes because of bloody hostilities in the south.¹³¹

Similar apprehension did not appear to inhibit the three castaways. Although they were initially wary of the Aborigines, Finnegan seemed more in danger from Parsons than any of them did from the Aborigines.¹³² To some extent, this may verify how dependent they were on the indigenous people for their very survival.

By the end of the nineteenth century, there were a myriad of attitudes towards Aborigines, varying from pity to loathing. Even individuals, such as Archibald Meston who became Southern Protector of Aborigines in Queensland from 1898 to 1904, could hold diverse views. He esteemed the characteristics of Aborigines who maintained a traditional lifestyle and hence risked death by resisting European encroachment on their land, while he distained those who passively accepted the lifestyle of fringe dwellers to the intruder’s settlement.¹³³ For others, attitudes towards Aborigines deteriorated as Europeans involved in frontier contact began to take responsibility for their own survival. This made it possible for them to accept the inevitability of violence and develop the concept which viewed Aborigines as both inferior and hostile to white civilisation.

The potential to appraise Aborigines as inferior arose in the late seventeenth century. Europeans had pride of place in the Great Chain of Being and coloured races were relegated to share the lower levels with higher simians. When Darwin’s evolutionary mechanism of the survival of the fittest was applied to human societies the demise of Aboriginal people came to be perceived as inevitable. Theories of cultural evolution were even more dismissive of Aboriginal culture than the Great

¹³⁰ *London Gazette*, 117, 19 Aug. 1768, 1-2.

¹³¹ W. Ross Johnston, *Brisbane, the First Thirty Years* (Bowen Hills, Qld.: Boolarong, 1988), 14; Gill, *The Missing Coast*, 181, 236.

¹³² John Uniacke, “Narrative of Thomas Pamphlet,” in *Geographical Memoirs on New South Wales*, ed. Baron Fields (London: John Murray, 1825), 93, 98, 110, 122-26.

¹³³ These differing attitudes are shown by Malezer. Malezer, *Beyond the Act*, 9-23; William Thorpe, “Archibald Meston and Aboriginal Legislation,” *Historical Studies* 21, 82 (1984): 60.

Chain of Being had been of their physical existence. Those with preconceived ideas could not grasp the nuances of the complex Aboriginal culture. Even early anthropologists who studied it justified one of the most significant and probably most enduring visions of Australia which treated the continent as *terra nullius* – an unoccupied land without recognisable sovereign control.¹³⁴

The convict establishment and arrival of free settlers provided the impetus to usurp Aboriginal culture and transform the landscape. By renaming landmarks Cook began the process. Following Oxley there was a reorganisation of the human environment and the land. This eventually led to the demise of Aboriginal culture in the Moreton Bay area.

In 1839 assistant surveyors Robert Dixon, James Warner and Granville Stapylton arrived to prepare the area for free settlement.¹³⁵ Dixon, who was in charge of the team, began a survey which resulted in a map being drawn in April 1840.¹³⁶ It is the first map known to contain the name Waterloo Bay which was later used to define the high-water boundary for Portions 57 and 78.¹³⁷

As far back as the late 1820s, Surveyor-General Thomas Mitchell, had instructed surveyors to use indigenous names where appropriate. Although Warner began mapping the southern shore of Moreton Bay in 1840, it was reputedly not until 1859 that he named Wynnum. Fittingly it was taken from the vocabulary of the local Aborigines in which winnum meant breadfruit or pandanus tree.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Evans, Saunders and Cronin, *Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination*, 3; Frawley, "Evolving Visions," 58-65; Reynolds, "Racial Thought in Early Colonial Australia," 47-52; Derek John Mulvaney, "The Australian Aborigines 1606-1929: Opinion and Fieldwork Part II: 1859-1929," *Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand* 8, 31 (Nov. 1958): 301-13.

¹³⁵ Elizabeth Dann, "Aboriginal Place Names in Brisbane: 'Misplaced, Mispronounced and Misunderstood'," *Brisbane: Local, Oral and Placename History*, ed. Rod Fisher, BHG Papers no. 9 (1990), 81; William Metcalf, "Process in Placenamesing Southeast Brisbane," *Brisbane: Local, Oral and Placename History*, 101; Johnston, *Brisbane, the First Thirty Years*, 18, 32-37.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*; John G. Steele, *Brisbane Town in Convict Days 1824-1842*, (St Lucia: UQP, 1975), 264, fig. 116.

¹³⁷ Surveyors who named the bays in the 1840s are thought to be the first to do so. John Steele, personal communication, 9 Apr. 2001.

¹³⁸ Constance Campbell Petrie, *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of Early Queensland* (Brisbane: Watson, Ferguson, 1904), 317; John G. Steele, *Aboriginal Pathways in Southeast Queensland and the Richmond River* (St Lucia: UQP, 1983), 114; Johnston, *Brisbane, the First Thirty Years*, 34; Dann, "Aboriginal Place Names in Brisbane," 81; *Memorial Plaques erected by Wynnum Manly Historical Society*, (Wynnum: [199?]), WMHS, uncatalogued.

Although many contemporary residents can remember an Aboriginal camp in the northeast section of Wynnum, Aborigines seem to have been long gone from Manly. As Ester Eklund (nee Curtis) delivered mail on horseback about the 1920s, she used to encounter a group of Aborigines who were camped around Arnold and Wellington Streets, not far from today's business centre.¹³⁹ Reputedly the last local Aborigine was a Mipirimm who claimed that Manly was where they established their ceremonial grounds. But along with the disappearance of the original owners of the land, "Narlung", their name for the land has also disappeared.¹⁴⁰

When, in 1887, Portion 57, the second portion of land to be subdivided, was advertised for sale it was renamed "Manly Beach". Four suggestions have been proposed for the genesis of that name. One is that it reflects the castaways' recognition of the physiques of sturdy natives in the area. Another two explanations refer to Sydney's seaside resort of Manly. Alternatively these considerations are combined in the proposition that the name was copied from Manly Cove, in New South Wales, which was originally named with reference to the fitness of local Aborigines.¹⁴¹ As more than sixty years had elapsed between the visit of the castaways and what was seemingly the first mention of Queensland's "Manly Beach", it appears more reasonable to accept the three explanations which refer to the origins of the name in association with the seaside resort of New South Wales.

This is all the more likely because the first evidence of the name "Manly Beach" being used was as an advertising ploy for the sale of land subdivisions. It was supported by glowing reference to the waterside location of that estate. Regardless of the precise origins of the name, recognition of the beachside position of the land was definitely used as a drawcard. It was not only contained in the title but was also employed extensively in the promotional text presented on the estate map.¹⁴²

Just as southern capitals followed Britain in developing nearby sea-bathing beaches Brisbane followed them. The lifestyle associated with Manly's seaside position

¹³⁹ Val and Shirley Curtis, personal communication, 30 Dec. 2000.

¹⁴⁰ "Narlung" is also mentioned as the Aboriginal name for Manly by Tom Petrie but he gives no indication of its meaning. *Log*, newsletter 1, 1 (Manly Harbour Village Management, 1991), 1, JOL, Brisbane – Suburbs - Manly; Petrie, *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences*, 317.

¹⁴¹ Place Names Board, "Brisbane Place Names," J-M, JOL, B5.

¹⁴² SMBBHC, HF no. 88, "Manly Beach," estate map.

rivalled or may even have preceded its rural lifestyle. Europeans probably initially used the whole of the area as a resort for boating enthusiasts.¹⁴³

Nevertheless, perhaps a telling difference between early Wynnum and Manly is that the original name Europeans gave the former had an association with the sea, while that of Manly was associated with the land. Wynnum was once Oyster Point and Manly had previously been known as Wyvernleigh. The latter was taken from a residence and plantation which overlooked Waterloo Bay. Thomas Jones, the land's original owner, had the house built and it later became the residence for some of the Arnold family.¹⁴⁴

One of the main reasons that the coastal route for the railway was chosen over a more direct link to Cleveland was that improved market accessibility for the former would encourage the development of land more suitable for agriculture.¹⁴⁵ Some pockets of red colouration still attest to the high nutrient status of the soil even though the market gardens and small-crop farms it once sustained have disappeared.¹⁴⁶

For a long time a country lifestyle dominated the area. Symbolic of this was Manly's placement in the Queensland Post Office Directories. It most frequently appeared under the country section, until being included among Brisbane's suburbs in 1927/28.¹⁴⁷ While a few graziers obviously lived in the vicinity of where business later began to concentrate, many of the first Europeans who occupied land around Manly were farmers who took advantage of the nutrients in the soil to establish small-crop farms and market gardens.

¹⁴³ Ronald Leslie Heathcote, *Australia*, 2nd ed. (Essex: Longman, 1994), 85; "Local Authorities of Queensland," in *Brisbane Centenary Official Historical Souvenir* (Brisbane: Watson, Ferguson, 1924), 197.

¹⁴⁴ The site of the original Wyvernleigh residence is now occupied by St John Viannery's catholic church and school. "Local Authorities of Queensland," 197; JOL, Brisbane Suburbs and Localities, J-M.

¹⁴⁵ Mary Howells, *Living on the Edge along Tingalpa Creek: A History of Upper Tingalpa, Capalaba and Thorneside* (Redland, Qld.: Redland Shire Council, 2000), 29-30.

¹⁴⁶ One of the oldest farm sites has recently been sold. It was acquired by John Hargreaves in 1892, as a sugar-cane farm. In December 1998 the US based group Simplot closed its Edgell's canning factory on this Manly Road site and it was sold in September 1999 for residential and retail development. *Courier-Mail*, 10 Sept. 1999, 36.

¹⁴⁷ QPOD, 1894/95-1927/28.

It is only possible to juxtapose the lifestyles of the newly emerging pioneering community of graziers and farmers with that of the Aborigines because particular responses within Manly are elusive. There is little evidence to suggest the outcome of any interaction between the them, apart from corroboree demonstrations which were held on one of the four blocks associated with the Manly centre after businesses were already established there.¹⁴⁸ Nonetheless the scant evidence implies that many Aborigines met their demise or retreated soon after early European occupation.

There is also little to suggest what the attitudes of people like the Arnolds or the Whites were concerning Aborigines. It is known that when White operated "Beau Desert" station, local Aborigines were employed, mainly as stockmen.¹⁴⁹ It is also known that among the first playmates of Albert White, second son of Jane and William, were young Aboriginal children who lived in a camp not far from the homestead and that he learnt to speak their language well.¹⁵⁰

The possibility for racial differentiation, however, was not the only social demarcation functioning at Manly. As elsewhere, divisions of class and gender operated. Observations by Joyce Wruck (nee Churchwood) dispel any illusion that childhood friendships could overcome class division. After being widowed early in the twentieth century Wruck's mother moved her family from near Lota station onto the hill close to "Lota House" because she was apprehensive about inebriated men who returned late at night by train. Forced by her altered situation to find work, she took a position as a part-time cook with the Mylne family who moved into "Lota House" in 1913.¹⁵¹ Alastair Mylne, a great-grandchild of Jane and William White, was friendly with one of Wruck's brothers. The boys played in the huge garden of "Lota House" and were sometimes joined by Wruck. This opportunity did

¹⁴⁸ The space, often referred to as the 'Green', was a camping site over the Christmas and Easter periods and used for community purposes at other times. Harold Senden, "Manly Memories," ts., 1999, WHMS, SO17; Mervyn N. Betiz, *Mangroves to Moorings: Stories and Photographs of People and Events in and around Manly, Queensland* (Wynnum Central: W. Lockwood and Sons, 1982), 92.

¹⁴⁹ Pixley, "William Duckett White," 378.

¹⁵⁰ Mills, cited in White, "The Founders of Lota House," 4.

¹⁵¹ White, *An Early Settler*, 223.

not blind her to the reality of class division. In describing the Mylne family's regular afternoon ride on their horses she explained, "they were more gentry".¹⁵²

Many people within Manly would have experienced the difficulties which operated because of class division. This is particularly obvious in Ron Hansen and Harold Senden's stories concerning the depression.¹⁵³ Manly later came to be regarded as a predominantly working class area.

Even Joseph Curtis had a struggle to retain the freehold on land he bought in his endeavour to become one of Manly's first three shopkeepers. Before he moved to Manly or became a Belmont farmer Joseph was a gardener at "Fernberg House". He later married Ellen Hirton, a governess who lived with her family in the gatekeeper's residence there.¹⁵⁴ In 1898, soon after they moved to Manly, Curtis bought his first subdivision on the corner of Stratton Terrace and Cambridge Parade. A year later he bought two more on the Stratton Terrace side of that property. He sold the latter two in 1905 and his original one in 1911. Curtis bought one of the two subdivisions in Stratton Terrace again in 1918 and when he mortgaged it eight years later he promptly bought back his original one.¹⁵⁵

The Certificates of Title which help plot Curtis' property dealings also illustrate the division of gender. This division was a feature of title documentation from the time of the first estate sales. Only six out of the forty-three transfers of title were made to women when subdivisions on the first estate were sold. Of the fifty-six transfers in the subsequent sale of "Manly Beach" estate only two recipients were women.¹⁵⁶ Another feature of Certificates of Title which reflected women's position was the inclusion of their marital status. Moreover, if a woman was married her husband's

¹⁵² Joyce Wruck, interview, 8 May 1998.

¹⁵³ Ron Hansen, interview, Oct. 1999; Harold Senden, interview, Aug. 1998.

¹⁵⁴ Val Curtis, "J. Curtis & Sons: General Store, Stratton Terrace and Cambridge Parade Manly," in Kathy Goodwin *Virtual Manly: 1890s-1950s*, CD-ROM (Brisbane: Kathy Goodwin, 2000-01), SMBBHC; "Ellen Louise Hirton," WMHS, Pioneer Register. Vol. 1, 1999.

¹⁵⁵ QDNR, Joseph Curtis, Certificate of Title, 4 May 1898, vol. 934, fol. 41; QDNR, Joseph Curtis, transfer of title, 18 July 1899, vol. 746, fol. 114; QDNR, Walter Henry Barnes, transfer of title, [?] July 1905, vol. 746, fol. 114; QDNR, William Cribb, transfer of title, 22 Mar. 1911, vol. 934, fol. 41; QDNR, Joseph Curtis, transfer of title, 6 Nov. 1918, vol. 1320, fol. 171; QDNR, Joseph Curtis, transfer of title, 28 Apr. 1926, vol. 934, fol. 41; QDNR, Joseph Curtis, bill of mortgage, 28 Apr. 1926, vol. 1320, fol. 171.

¹⁵⁶ QDNR, David Dalziel Arnold, Certificate of Title; QDNR, James Arnold, Certificate of Title.

name also appeared, whereas for men their marital status was irrelevant. This differentiation was symbolic of the presumed lack of economic independence for women.

As women receive less consideration in this thesis than men it is difficult not to protract some of the gender segregation. In comparison to men, not many women owned businesses in the Manly centre. Even women who did maintain relatively long-term business interests generally lasted shorter periods of time and lacked the continuity of family ownership that existed for many of their male counterparts – especially the evident continuity of a father passing his business to a son. Also, unlike men who were associated with the centre women never held a place on either the Wynnum Shire Council or even the Wynnum Town Council. Unfortunately therefore, the combination of these factors makes information on women's business and political interests less accessible.

Despite these obvious anomalies, many women were involved in the centre, even from its inception. Louisa Savage owned the property on which Frederick, her husband, who was possibly the first shopkeeper in what later became the Manly business centre, established business.¹⁵⁷ It is also known that women such as Janet Paton, Mary Todd and Isabella Banks were associated with the initial establishment of the centre. Later, Madeleine Shenton continued to run her own business in the city while her husband operated the chemist shop in the centre and many other women worked with their husbands in stores within there.¹⁵⁸

Inevitably it was European males who defined the development of Manly's commercial centre. Here White, rather than the Arnold brothers, is taken as representative of the first group of landowners because of the availability of information on him. As this group held large portions or multiple portions, some of them may have been relatively wealthy. Most who subsequently rented or bought for business reasons, however, were shopkeepers, like Curtis, and as such would not have belonged to an elite social group. They may, however, have enjoyed a higher social standing than many of those they served. Through them the cultural

¹⁵⁷ QDNR, Louisa Savage, transfer of title, 26 Mar. 1906, vol. 724, fol. 167.

¹⁵⁸ Madeleine Shenton, interview, 13 May 2002.

landscape and social setting of the Manly commercial centre became a European, man-made redefinition of an ancient land and its people.

Although the soil around Manly provided the opportunity for accessible produce which was important in terms of a new colony, the lifestyle it supported eventually declined. It is possible that in the long term it was only an interlude in Manly's increasing use as a seaside resort. In the sequence of time the latter became more firmly established and enduring.

SECTION TWO

FROM RURAL SETTLEMENT TO SEASIDE RESORT: 1890s-1925

Contextual Background

Manly still retained much of its country landscape long after being incorporated into Brisbane. Conversely, the genesis of its recreational and suburban development can be linked to the growth of the Wynnum-Manly district subsequent to the sale of its first land subdivisions in the 1880s. Not being an isolated phenomenon such growth was already closely aligned with expanding centres such as Brisbane and, more particularly in the early stages, South Brisbane. While some factors were common to the development of many centres, the geographic position of Manly, to both the capital and Moreton Bay, ensured that the response within it was somewhat unique.

The primary geographical factor influencing the development of the centre between the 1890s and 1925 seemed to be Manly's position by the bay. This position was one of Manly's main attributes; distinguishing it from many other early centres by its use for leisure purposes. While some forms of use for leisure have now disappeared others have endured or become more comprehensive.¹⁵⁹

Two understandings of the concept of leisure are pertinent to this study. Although the term seems an all-encompassing one, it contains helpful nuances for defining both recreation and tourism. One understanding construes leisure as something time-related. Another refers to it as some form of activity.¹⁶⁰ By applying such notions, recreation can be defined as a non-work activity, usually undertaken

¹⁵⁹ While Manly no longer has camping sites its foreshore is still used for walking. As well, a marina and clubs associated with boating and yachting dominate its marinescape and foreshore, respectively. These attest to the bay's ever increasing popularity for recreation.

¹⁶⁰ A third meaning maintains that what is referred to as leisure depends on an attitude of the mind. Here that is thwarted by the lack of opportunity for subjects to define their own ideas. Although oral history could partially overcome this obstacle attitudes to leisure were not explicitly incorporated into interviews conducted for this thesis. Because interviewees' attitudes would require considerable extrapolation it would be inappropriate to include them here. John Towner, *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World 1540-1940* (Chichester: Wiley, 1996), 3-4.

somewhere else besides the home. Tourism may be interpreted similarly but with the further implications of a journey and temporary stay away from home. Where applicable, these inferences will be used in the chapters comprising this section. Nevertheless, the impressions which recreation and tourism had on the nascent commercial centre at Manly were often indistinguishable.

The given definitions of recreation and, more particularly, tourism involve the concept of spatially separate locations with some form of movement between them. It therefore follows that there are at least three interrelated components which need to be addressed. One location is the destination. It represents a supply centre. To ensure a balanced approach the corresponding centre or visitor-generating area, where the demand for leisure is formed, also needs to be considered. These centres and areas of supply and demand are linked by a third component incorporating communication and transport.

Together the three form a dynamic and fluid system influenced by many different factors from wider physical and social environments as well as those environments intermediate to both.¹⁶¹ This is dealt with in two ways. In focussing predominantly on the supply centre, the third chapter emphasises the physical changes that recreation and tourism brought to Manly. This successive period of 'sequent occupance' is more sharply focussed than the first period. Through the availability of more resources it includes greater detail on subsequent developments in the use of land, its divisions and street layouts and the design of buildings as well. Secondly, by placing the growth of business within its social context, the fourth chapter broadens an understanding of that physical development. While politics and economics predominate, it also includes aspects relevant to demand creation such as transport and the printed media.

In some early centres demand was generated. Crucial to this is the relative position of stations which, similar to those described for elsewhere, are "deployed like beads

¹⁶¹ A technological environment (or perhaps more appropriate for the period a mechanical one involving rail or road transport) is an intermediate one. *Ibid.*, 3-6.

on a string”.¹⁶² Initially one of the most significant demand-generating centres for Manly was the city of South Brisbane. Being the terminus for the Cleveland line it was directly linked to Manly by rail.

Manly became a supply centre, as did many other resorts on the bay such as Sandgate and Cleveland. The two latter are included in the context of surrounding development from the 1890s to 1925. Along with Manly and many early administration centres, Sandgate became incorporated into Greater Brisbane, whereas Cleveland did not.

Between the 1890s and 1925 the railway was the transport system most readily available to support the development of recreation and tourism. The geographic position of the railway station and geological features of the land surrounding it also assisted in the concentrated growth of shops. Demonstrable evidence for this is that what appears to have been the main route from the station to the beach included the section of Cambridge Parade around which the burgeoning centre emerged. More than likely the ensuing popularity of the Parade was due to the means of access it provided to the bay. That path from the station became vital in determining some of the changes occurring in sections of Cambridge Parade, Stratton Terrace and the Esplanade.

Although many blocks of the early estates contained businesses, commerce began to concentrate along those three streets. The streets are situated on four blocks associated with the section of land in which Portions 57 and 78 almost meet. Creating parallel borders between them is a short strip of Portion 33v. On either side of this narrow portion, the Manly centre developed. The external boundaries of the blocks which comprise the centre are formed by four streets. Cardigan Parade and Benalla Street are the north and south boundaries, respectively. As the latter, originally Jane Street, curves around the southwest block, it has no west perimeter and takes on the appearance of a large triangle. The northwest block is therefore the only one which has Melville Terrace as its west perimeter. The fourth and final extremity is formed by the Esplanade. Separating the four blocks from each other

¹⁶² Kostof, Spiro, *The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form Through History*, in collaboration with Greg Castillo (London: Thames & Hudson, 1992), 61.

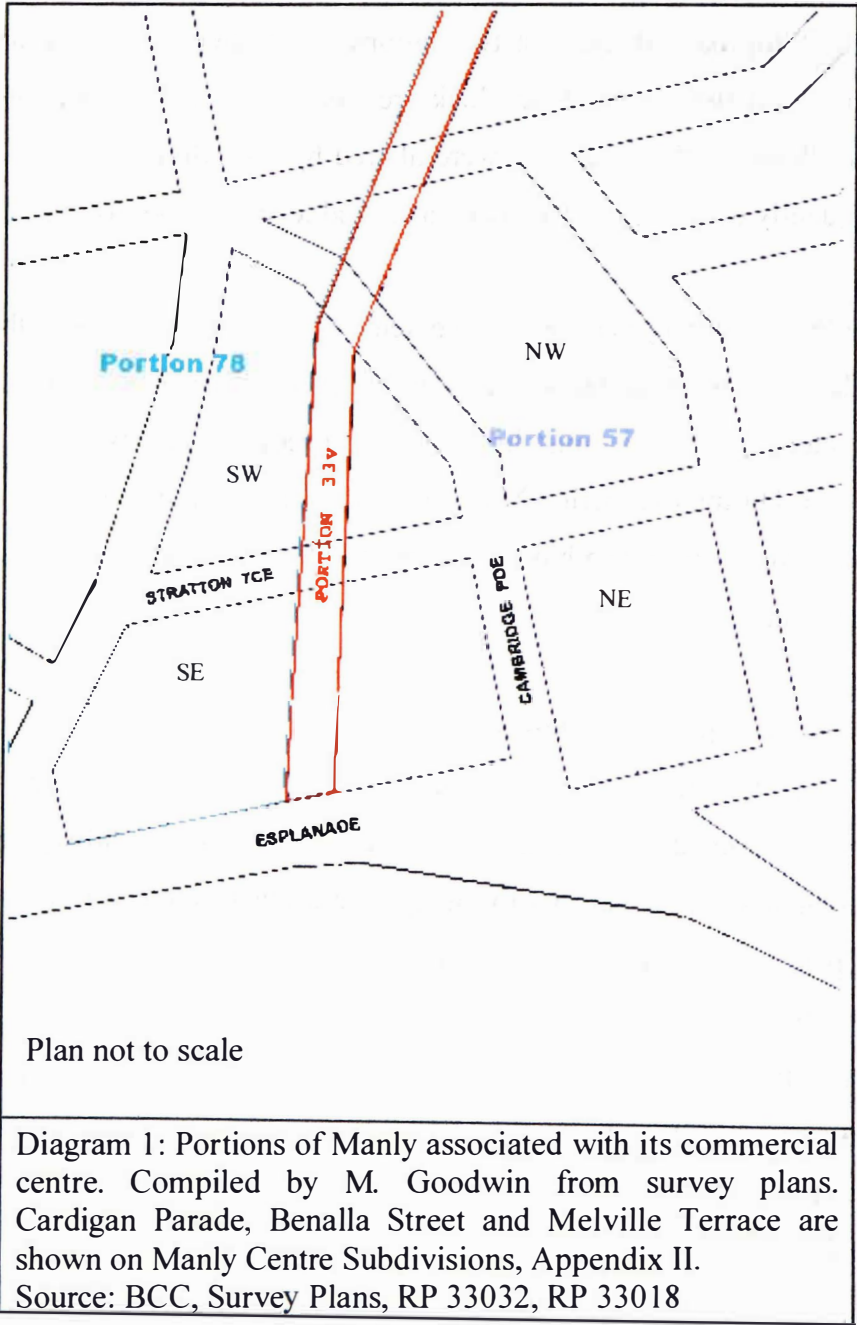
are the internal perimeters of Cambridge Parade and Stratton Terrace. The two streets were in existence by 1887 when the survey of the estate plan for the second portion of subdivisions was released. Although Cambridge Parade intersects both Stratton Terrace and the Esplanade it was mainly frontages near the junction of the former two which became the premium positions for business and commerce within the first three decades of the sale of “Manly Beach” estate. (Diagram 1)

Despite being part of the first two groups of subdivisions in the area, the size of properties on two of the four blocks remained relatively stable, at least until the 1950s. Those on the other two were altered by resubdivisions. Some of them were subsequently divided again to create a second level of subdivisions.

While many resurveys occurred the extent to which these indicated that expectations were held for the four blocks can only be speculative. Whatever the potential was anticipated, much of it must have been realised, or even exceeded, between 1913 and 1925. During that period Manly’s business and commercial enterprises began to be consolidated on those blocks and well before the end of it Cambridge Parade’s primary status was secured.

Through a comparison of business growth on the street frontages along sections of Cambridge Parade, Stratton Terrace and the Esplanade the nature in which those properties evolved subsequent to the introduction of the railway line is revealed. Particular attention is drawn to changes relevant to recreation and tourism which were part of the context for comparative changes in the physical nature of the streets. Evidence is also given of the impetus the railway system provided for leisure activity. The correlation between Manly’s use for leisure purposes and the railway was quite direct because business development became aligned in accordance with the route between the station and the beach. Subsequent changes are discussed within the realm of economics and politics. The use of comparative political and economic changes will have greater validity if applied to relatively equal arbitrary periods. Confining periods to five or six years increases the chances of more accurately placing them within their pertinent context.

Portions of Manly



Initially there was a steady increase in the concentration of businesses. Then the growth rate escalated when Wynnum became a town in 1912. The number of businesses was inflated during the first few sub-periods as individuals had multiple interests. Therefore early categories on the graph (in the introduction) and the first graph on shop types (included later) are skewed in the initial sub-periods.

With a subsequent dramatic increase in trading outlets it becomes less viable to consider individuals. From 1913 onwards the aggregate of shops is the primary focus. Consequently for sub-periods after 1913, particulars in the text are reduced in favour of more general implications.¹⁶³

Also as the Post Office Directories have been used extensively to establish some of the positions and dates for businesses, allowance needs to be made for inaccuracies. Many of the streets existed long before they were entered into the directories. Even after 1922/23, when an attempt was made in the directories to align businesses with their positions within the streets, the sequencing was not consistent enough to allow for them to always be placed with confidence.¹⁶⁴ Sometimes details from Certificates of Title provided more official information, particularly when titleholders owned a business. Although title documents sometimes contained lease arrangements it would seem others did not. While a systematic check of data from these documents was possible, the continual alteration of information in the directories made a systematic check of them less feasible. However, directory entries were checked against other relevant evidence when it became available and readjustments to tables on which the graphs were ultimately based were made accordingly.

Regardless of the disadvantages, the directories in conjunction with Certificates of Title, photographs, personal interviews and illustrations provide invaluable sources for locating many businesses. While details may not always be completely accurate there is little reason to doubt the reliability of overall trends.

¹⁶³ Because the practice of individuals having diverse business interests seems to have gradually diminished, as the rate of new businesses increased, graphs showing business changes become numerically more accurate with time.

¹⁶⁴ One of the difficulties of being certain of the positions in streets is due to the fact that vacancies were not always noted. QPOD, 1894/95-1922/23.

CHAPTER THREE

Formation of the commercial centre

after the tracks are laid

Even into the twentieth century it would not have been difficult to conjure up idealised notions of a rural lifestyle at Manly. Many small farms were still in existence not far from the centre, at least into the 1930s. More than likely, however, preceding or competing with that lifestyle was a way of life associated with the benefits and pleasures of a seaside resort.

Prior to the amalgamation of Greater Brisbane in 1925, Manly was popular as a centre for recreation and tourism. Whatever idealistic notions were held about Manly as a seaside resort, an examination of the growth of the business centre reveals that for many of its pioneers it was in reality a work environment. Nevertheless, the type of business some of them adopted was a response to recreation and tourism.

It is obvious that the railway connection was a vital catalyst in establishing the site for the centre. However, growth was delayed because it took a long time to obtain. The relatively late arrival of the railway line, just prior to the 1890s depression, was dictated, to a large extent, not only by Manly's distance from Brisbane but also its location south of the river. Sandgate, on the north side of the river, had a definite advantage. A frequent coach service to Brisbane, after about 1876, enabled it to become a popular seaside resort.¹⁶⁵ By 1882, when the railway connection was established from Roma Street to Sandgate, that seaside resort's status was already established.

Gradually, as the railway system spread, benefits began to accrue for centres south of the river. For Manly the disadvantage of inadequate services for travelling into

¹⁶⁵ Gordon Greenwood, ed. *Brisbane 1859-1959: A History of Local Government* (Brisbane: Council of the City of Brisbane, 1959), 145; John H.C. McClurg, *Historical Sketches of Brisbane*, (Brisbane: Library Board of Queensland and Royal Historical Society of Queensland, 1975), 93-98.

the centre of the capital persisted after the arrival of public transport. Manly was connected to South Brisbane when the Cleveland railway line was opened in 1889. Initially Stanley Street Station was as close as the link went to the centre of Brisbane.

As the terminus site was a considerable walking distance short of the Victoria Bridge three residences were removed when Memorial Park was formed and a semi-circular street frontage which remained near Stanley Street provided a convenient assembly point for horse-drawn cabs and vehicles waiting for passengers from the Southport and Cleveland lines.¹⁶⁶ Although a goods' line for ship's cargo already linked Stanley Street Station and the Victoria Bridge, it was not until two years after the construction of the Cleveland line that Melbourne Street Station became the new terminus for passenger trains.¹⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the distance and inconvenience of needing to cross the bridge left Sandgate's advantage north of the river unimpeded. Brisbane still needed to be accessed via the Victoria Bridge so, even with the new terminus, South Brisbane remained an important demand centre for Manly and a vital link through to Ipswich.

By then the railway connection between South Brisbane and Ipswich had already been established for a long time. In July 1876 the building of the Albert Bridge at Indooroopilly provided uninterrupted rail transport from Ipswich to Brisbane's Roma Street. This initial connection, however, may not have delighted the people of Ipswich because they perceived it would erode their potential as a marine centre for the west. Some with coal interests later recognized the advantages of being connected to the busy port facilities at Stanley Quay, South Brisbane and therefore strongly advocated a new link between the Ipswich line and South Brisbane. This link was opened in 1884 as a single track.¹⁶⁸ It had therefore been in existence for five years before the connection between South Brisbane and Cleveland.

¹⁶⁶ McClurg, *Historical Sketches of Brisbane*, 41, 82, 87.

¹⁶⁷ Anthony Smith, "Woolloongabba transported: Its Changing Face," in *Brisbane, People, Places and Progress*, eds Rod Fisher and Barry Shaw, BHG Papers no. 14 (1995), 87; McClurg, *Historical Sketches of Brisbane*, 90.

¹⁶⁸ Viv Daddow, *The Puffing Pioneers and Queensland's Railway Builders* (St. Lucia: UQP, 1975), 41, 87; Colin O'Connor, "Early Bridges across the Brisbane," in *Brisbane: Housing, The River, Health and the Arts*, eds Rod Fisher and Ray Sumner, BHG Papers no. 3 (1985), 103-04; McClurg, *Historical Sketches of Brisbane*, 85.

Until the year before the opening of the Cleveland line (in 1889), the area along the shores of Waterloo Bay was under administrative control of a board of road trustees. In 1925, as the Town of Wynnum, it became incorporated into Greater Brisbane. By that time Wynnum's population was approximately 11,000 with 4,700 on the electoral roll.¹⁶⁹ Just prior to amalgamation these population figures were used to show how the district had "advanced along the road of progress" and the contribution which rail transport had made was heralded as "the first real step".¹⁷⁰ By the time that comment was made the railway was obviously being recognized as the vital catalyst for change.

The extent and direction of growth in the three relevant streets of Manly during the preceding three and a half decades were proof of the contribution the railway had made there. Initially, Cambridge Parade had little to distinguish it from neighbouring streets. Even a decade after the line was opened, Stratton Terrace appeared to be the most prominent street in Manly. It was not until sometime between 1913 and 1918 that Cambridge Parade superseded it. The reason for the growing pre-eminence of Cambridge Parade has been attributed to the fact that it became a popular thoroughfare for train passengers using the bay for recreation.¹⁷¹ It therefore must have appeared an attractive position to anyone interested in venturing into business.

By the time Cambridge Parade appeared for the first time in directories, many streets in the area contained shops and service outlets. In 1903, however, when certain streets were used to identify the location of some residents, Cambridge Parade was absent. By 1915/16, when that street was entered for the first time in the Post Office Directories, Stratton Terrace had already been appearing for six years and even afterwards appeared more frequently.¹⁷²

It is not difficult to appreciate the prior enduring prominence of Stratton Terrace. Firstly, it was and still is longer than Cambridge Parade. More significantly, it is

¹⁶⁹ "Local Authorities of Queensland," *Brisbane Centenary Official Historical Souvenir*, (Brisbane: Watson, Ferguson, 1924), 197.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ Mervyn Beitz, interview, 22 July 1998.

¹⁷² QPOD, 1889-1915/16.

feasible that Stratton Terrace had previously acquired a more sought after position for shops than Cambridge Parade. As the lowest terrace available for commuting directly between Manly and Wynnum, albeit with a few bends and a name change on the way, Stratton Terrace would have provided one of the most direct routes to the centre of Wynnum from Manly's lower areas. Its orientation would therefore have made it popular, particularly before the advent of rail transport.

That is not to say that Stratton Terrace was a busy thoroughfare. A year before the completion of the Cleveland line, when the Kianawah Divisional Board had administrative control of the area, the principal town was Lytton. Boating enthusiasts were perhaps the most avid users of the district. Residences numbered only about fifty for a population of approximately two hundred. Although by this stage there were many landholders, the majority did not reside in the district.¹⁷³ By 1895, however, the population estimate for Wynnum had reached 1,200. By then the ratio of dwellings to people had apparently decreased, as there were 220 estimated residences.¹⁷⁴

Before the mid-1890s it is difficult to establish where residents, let alone shopkeepers, were located in Manly itself. Until then, Manly had no separate identity in the directories. Between 1889 and 1894 (the first sub-period being examined) they contained only two recognizable names associated with the vicinity. Variouslly placed under Wynnum or Tingalpa were William Duckett White and David Arnold or the Arnold Brothers.¹⁷⁵ On the north of White's property the boundary fence ran alongside the cliff to the sea, not far from the boat-shed, jetty and beach. Before he died, towards the end of 1893, White kept a bull by the fence to warn off trespassers and discourage picnickers looking for oysters. Lack of success prompted him to patrol the cliff-top with a muzzle-loader. Ultimately he was forced to succumb to the changing conditions as men came in boats to collect both rock and mud-oysters.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ "Local Authorities of Queensland," 195-96; BCA, 0195, Kianawah Divisional Board, Valuation Register, ms., 1888-89.

¹⁷⁴ Edmund Gregory, *Statistics for the Colony of Queensland* (Brisbane: Government Printer, 1896), 16.

¹⁷⁵ QPOD, 1889-1894/95.

¹⁷⁶ Michael W. D. White, *An Early Settler: The Duckett White Family in Australia* (Ashgrove, Qld: Hennessy, 1990), 57-58.

White's neighbours, the Arnolds, were partly responsible for instigating the changes which White abhorred so much. David Dalziel Arnold, with his brothers James and John, purchased Portion 78, adjacent to the portion which contained White's residence. Simultaneously they bought Portion 57. Soon after purchasing the Arnolds began to subdivide this land for sale. They did, however, retain in common a subdivision of approximately half a hectare until well into the twentieth century.¹⁷⁷

Eventually that large subdivision provided the means for a convenient detour through to Cambridge Parade. Possibly Richard Russell was more responsible for popularising this route than anyone.¹⁷⁸ If he did not establish the direction, Russell at least would have contributed significantly to increasing its reputation. To use this thoroughfare, passengers needed to descend the only existing set of stairs and exit into Dallie Street which ran almost directly east from the station.¹⁷⁹ Barely noticeable in an early photograph are two vehicles; apparently waiting in the vicinity of that exit. Perhaps one belonged to Russell who may have arrived to collect passengers from the train.¹⁸⁰ He is fondly thought of as the first person to have used a hansom cab to convey railway travellers down Cambridge Parade to the waterfront.¹⁸¹

In 1903, at least a couple of years after Russell began meeting incoming trains, the station had only one platform but was accessed by three passageways.¹⁸² One of the passageways, to the north, opened onto Gordon Parade. Another, to the south, probably incorporated the present entrance to the station's car park in Ernest Street. The third and closest to the station opened east. From the time of the first subdivisions that road was the west extension of Dallie Street. Later, it appropriately became known as Station Street. Now, as Yamboyna Street, it rises into Oceana Terrace which runs along the crest of the hill until reaching "Lota House".

¹⁷⁷ The Brisbane City Council resumed the subdivision in 1938. QDNR, David Dalziel Arnold, Certificate of title; James Arnold, Certificate of title. QDNR, David Dalziel Arnold, Certificate of Title, 21 July 1882, vol. 430, fol 197; QDNR James Arnold, Certificate of Title, 21 July 1882, vol. 430, fol. 195.

¹⁷⁸ Beitz, interview.

¹⁷⁹ Dallie was the nick-name for Dalziel – the maiden name of Jane Arnold who was the mother of the three brothers. Wynnum Manly Historical Society, comp., *The Naming of Streets in Wynnum Manly and Districts*. (Wynnum: WMHS, 1998), 25.

¹⁸⁰ SMBBHC, VF1 2/78, photograph.

¹⁸¹ Beitz, interview.

¹⁸² *Brisbane Courier*, 18 Dec. 1901, 12.

Most likely the Yamboyna Street exit provided Russell with the best starting-point for the regular journey in his hansom cab. The ride probably began by turning left into Carlton Terrace and after cutting the corner to Cambridge Parade would have proceeded via a “formed road” through the water reserve.¹⁸³ This would have been the path of least resistance, as both Gordon Parade and Ernest Street walkways led to relatively high positions while this route was more direct and followed the gentle contours of the landscape, forming a road beside a natural spring dam. (Map 2)

Before Russell began conveying railway passengers, what little commerce existed around the centre was in Stratton Terrace. Until Russell arrived, however, there was probably no great demand for business. At the beginning of the second sub-period when Manly was identified in the 1894/95 directory as an independent location, only thirteen of its residents were present. One was Mary Arnold who was probably the wife of James Arnold.¹⁸⁴ Another was Frederick Savage. His occupation was often recorded in various combinations of grocer, storekeeper, baker and insurance agent. He also may have competed with Russell, or even preceded him, in collecting passengers from the station.¹⁸⁵ In 1896, Louisa Savage owned Subdivisions 384 and 385, on an outer corner of the most northeast of the four blocks, where Stratton Terrace and Cardigan Parade intersect. An early postcard shows that it was from there that her husband conducted business.¹⁸⁶ He may therefore have used the latter street rather than Cambridge Parade as a pathway to the beach. (See Subs 384-85 as Resubs 1-2 in Diagram 2 under Appendix II)

Manly appeared regularly in the directories after the late 1890s, showing a gradual increase in residents, some of whom obviously were engaged in business or service.¹⁸⁷ About the turn of the century, the commercial centre began, belatedly, to take shape. With the new century approaching, two new businesses seemingly emerged in Stratton Terrace. Although shops or services may have previously

¹⁸³ QSA, A1/43, Sheet 1, *Map of Wynnum and Manly, Parish of Tingalpa - County of Stanley*, Brisbane: Outridge, 1903.

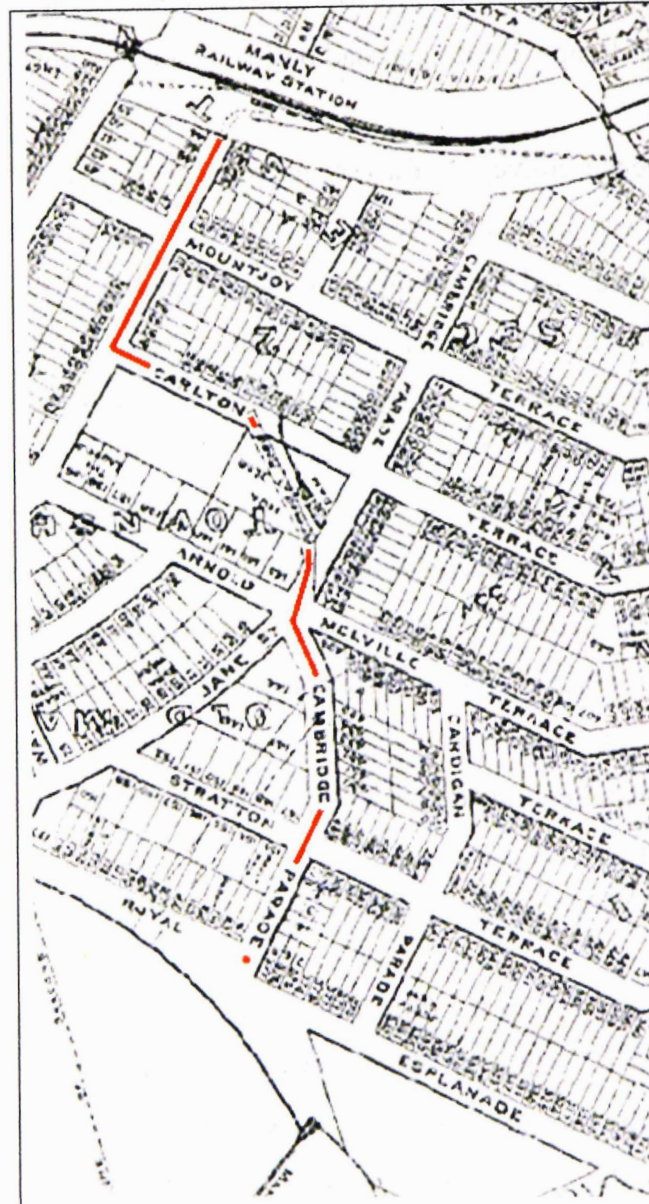
¹⁸⁴ A photograph of James and Mary Arnold of “Wyvernleigh” is held in the Manly library. SMBBHC, VF1 2/32, photograph; QPOD, 1894/95-1900.

¹⁸⁵ QPOD, 1894/95-1900; Jean Hardie, “Holidays from the 1890s to the 1914-1918 War,” ts., 1970, JOL, VF 919.43 HAR C1.

¹⁸⁶ QDNR, Louisa Savage, transfer of title, 26 Mar. 1896, vol. 724, fol. 167; SMBBHC, postcard, uncatalogued.

¹⁸⁷ QPOD, 1889-1900.

Route from Station to Beach



Map 2: Route from Station to Beach (via "formed road" which cut the corner of Carlton Tce and Cambridge Pde) adapted by M. Goodwin

Source: QSA A1/43 Sheet 1, *Map of Wynnnum and Manly, Parish of Tingalpa – County of Stanley*, 1903.

occupied the same positions, nothing in the directories or on relevant Certificates of Title indicate that was so. Despite the new businesses and that of Savage being located on three different blocks of land, they were situated not far from each other. The two newcomers took some time to establish permanent roots. One was Russell. The other was Joseph Curtis. When they commenced business in Manly, neither had acquired property on any of the four blocks on which the nascent centre arose. Furthermore, unlike Russell, Curtis never seems to have owned the subdivision on which his first store commenced. When Curtis appeared in the directories, shortly after Russell, both their occupations were stated as fruiterers. Curtis commenced business in Stratton Terrace, about 1897, when he rented a building on Subdivision 486 from Jane Cosgrove.¹⁸⁸ The back of the building, from which he ran a general store, remains incorporated into the residence at 197 Stratton Terrace. Afterwards Curtis built what was probably the first facility to provide hospitality for visitors to Manly. During 1898 and 1899 he purchased the three subdivisions on Stratton Terrace which extended from his shop to the Cambridge Parade corner. There, in a low building constructed from bush timber, packing case planks and timber shingles, the Curtis family established Tea Gardens.¹⁸⁹ (See Sub. 486 in Diagram 2 under Appendix II)

Although Curtis' two outlets and Russell's shop were located not far from each other, the two former buildings had vastly different front outlooks from the latter. Curtis' shop and Tea Gardens faced the water. More than likely those buildings afforded at least a partial view over the bay and islands. Although there was an apparent absence of buildings at the time, the possibility of a view would have depended on the density and height of shrubs. Russell's front outlook would have been in stark contrast because only from the back of his premises was sight of the bay possible. While he also conducted business from the corner of Cambridge Parade and Stratton Terrace, Russell's business was situated diagonally opposite Curtis' premises so that the front of his shop faced west towards the station.

¹⁸⁸ QPOD, 1897-1899; QDNR, Jane Cosgrove, Certificate of Title, 28 Dec. 1895, vol. 857, fol. 210.

¹⁸⁹ Val Curtis, "J. Curtis & Sons: General Store, Stratton Terrace and Cambridge Parade Manly," in Kathy Goodwin, *Virtual Manly: 1890s-1950s*, CD-ROM (Brisbane: Kathy Goodwin, 2000-01), SMBBHC; QDNR, Joseph Curtis, transfer of title, 4 May 1898, vol. 718, fol. 61, Certificate of Title, 4 May 1898, vol. 934, fol. 41, transfer of title 18 July 1899, vol. 746, fol. 114.

As Russell's welcome for visitors was a different style from that of Curtis, his position vis-à-vis the station was appropriate. Perhaps the natural rise of the landscape may have obscured Russell's view of the station from his front door and prevented him from seeing the trains pull into the station. Nevertheless, while like many people he doubtlessly heard the trains approaching, Russell may sometimes have also seen their smoke on the horizon and thereby had an added advantage in estimating their time of arrival.¹⁹⁰

Russell, who seems to have begun business just prior to Curtis, was instrumental in shifting popularity from Stratton Terrace to Cambridge Parade. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Parade was still more than a decade from becoming the principal street. Like nearby streets running in an east/west direction Cambridge Parade sloped down towards the water. However the degree of slope was not ideal for a shopping centre. Nevertheless, because it was Russell's preferred route as a thoroughfare for train passengers proceeding to the beach it is little wonder that it became a popular retail location. He has subsequently been ascribed much of the credit for the centre's orientation.¹⁹¹

The first business premises the passengers noticed when Russell's hansom cab entered Cambridge Parade would probably have been those associated with the Curtis family. When descending the slope of the Parade, these buildings were on the left, near the junction of that street and Stratton Terrace. No doubt, however, it would have been the back of the shop and Tea Gardens that initially came into view.

Maybe only after negotiating a slight bend would it have been possible to observe other buildings involved in commerce. The first of those to appear would have been on the diagonally opposite corner to Curtis which was eventually bought by Russell.

¹⁹⁰ The train took about fifty minutes from South Brisbane to Manly and for at least a couple more decades delays were caused by factors such as insufficient power when approaching hilly terrain or stock on the line. Thanks to John Kerr and John Sands, respectively, for making the following material available. QR, *Working Timetable*, 3 Apr. 1898; John Harmon Sands, "Memories of Earlier Days," ts., 20 June 1991, 13, JOL, P994.31.

¹⁹¹ If Savage did precede Russell he may have turned left into Melville Terrace instead of proceeding down what later became the commercial section of Cambridge Parade. From Melville Terrace he could then have turned right into Cardigan Parade and passed by his shop which stood on the corner of the latter and Stratton Terrace. This route to the beach was certainly used much later as an alternative for pedestrians from the station. Beitz, interview; Philip and Jean Lush, interview, Oct. 1999.

Once this corner position came into view Russell would have had the opportunity to point out his small wooden shop almost dwarfed by an imposing timber Assembly Hall beside it. The Hall appears to have stood almost side-by-side with the corner shop, either on the same or neighbouring subdivision. According to a 1901 advertisement in the *Brisbane Courier*, Russell was in charge of the Hall. As the huge structure, resembling a barn, became visible he almost certainly would have mentioned to his passengers that it was available for picnic parties and dances and came with an accompanying piano.¹⁹² As the hansom cab progressed further towards Stratton Terrace the last store noticed would have been Savage's on the corner of that street and Cardigan Parade.

More than likely, only later on in years, would the Manly Beach Kiosk and a campsite have come into view upon reaching the Esplanade. The Kiosk was near the southeast block overlooking the Esplanade and waterside bathing boxes. For those who enjoyed a camping holiday, a grassy strip between the Esplanade and Kiosk was available for pitching tents. "A real little tent town" was still often pegged there until the 1920s.¹⁹³

Meanwhile, there had been many changes to the physical nature of the four blocks, some of which involved new surveys to create additional properties. Two of the most significant resubdivisions were surveyed soon after the turn of the century. Reconfiguration of the first group occurred in 1901 (the first year of the third sub-period). This consisted of three pairs of subdivisions which shared a common back boundary. Half of the subdivisions had frontages on the Esplanade while the other half fronted onto Stratton Terrace.

Although the first group of divisions occurred well before the centre had been defined, and in reality created only one extra allotment, it involved a significant reorientation which could suggest that expectations may already have surfaced about the potential of particular locations. Through the new survey, three subdivisions on or near the corner of Cambridge Parade and the Esplanade were somewhat shortened but retained the same orientation. Small sections of the

¹⁹² JOL, photograph, neg. no. 38700; *Brisbane Courier*, 18 Dec. 1901, 12.

¹⁹³ Joyce Wruck, interview, 8 May 1998; SMBBHC, photograph, VF1 2/66.

remaining three were incorporated into Resubdivision 1, so that their original frontages onto Stratton Terrace became one of the sides of a new allotment which faced Cambridge Parade. Resubdivisions 2, 3, and 4 were created parallel to it, leaving Cambridge Parade with four new frontages.¹⁹⁴ It is difficult to know, however, whether this increase along Cambridge Parade was in anticipation of its pending prominence. Rather it may simply have been a reflection of a more general forecast concerning the possible position for a centre. (See Resubs 1-4 of Subs 375-80 in Diagram 2 under Appendix II)

The latter seems more probable as after a few years three streets were involved in a more substantial division of property. In the second group of resubdivisions a whole block resembling a large triangle was resurveyed so that the original number of allotments were more than doubled when 22 resubdivisions were created. The new frontages which extended along Cambridge Parade, Stratton Terrace and Jane (now Benalla) Street did not favour any of those streets in particular.¹⁹⁵ It therefore seems possible that, even if the first resurvey was intended to add more frontages to Cambridge Parade, the motivation for the second was to increase the number of potential owners and therefore maximising the return for their owner Edward Palmer. Surprisingly when the third division of property occurred in the early 1920s, after the position of the centre had been firmly established, the frontage of the smaller block (created from the two subdivisions once owned by Louisa Savage) faced away from the centre onto Cardigan Parade.¹⁹⁶ (See Resubs 1-22 of Subs 144-52 and Resubs 1-2 of Subs 384-5 in Diagram 2 under Appendix II)

While a major response in the trading sector did not occur until after the second of these resubdivisions, the corner positions began to reflect some anticipation of where the centre might eventually be situated soon after the first group was resurveyed. From 1904 onwards, a draper's store occupied the corner of Stratton Terrace and Cardigan Parade, opposite Savage. A couple of years later Janet Paton

¹⁹⁴ QDNR, John Pashen, Certificate of Title, 25 Apr. 1889, vol. 747, fol. 211.

¹⁹⁵ QDNR, Edward Palmer, transfer of title, 14 Mar. 1905, vol. 443, fol. 129.

¹⁹⁶ More comprehensive details of Edward Palmer's real estate interests in the Manly centre are discussed in the next chapter on pages 89-90. QDNR, Frederick Smith, transfer of title, 10 Dec. 1920, vol. 724, fol. 167.

obviously commenced a store beside Russell and by 1907 the Paton name was used in connection with the Assembly Hall.¹⁹⁷

Subsequent to the beginning of the next sub-period 1907, expansion continued. From 1908 Susan Webb held two subdivisions on the corner of Cardigan Parade and the Esplanade.¹⁹⁸ These were in an excellent position as they adjoined Savage's back boundary and had frontages across the Esplanade from the bathing enclosure and entrance to the Manly Jetty. A view of the islands stretched beyond. The position was ideal for a boarding-house.

However, it was not until 1916 when it was well into the next bracket of years that Susan's husband Alfred, a fruiterer, opened one. This was either on his wife's property or nearby. More than likely though it was on one of the two neighbouring subdivisions he purchased in 1910 or 1916, along the Esplanade perimeter of the same block which contained his wife's property.¹⁹⁹ Webb was not the only person associated with the nascent centre to provide more substantial accommodation than camping. The other was Mary Todd. She had been operating the Manly Beach Kiosk which had a popular camping ground in front of it. While there, she not only sold drinks and refreshments but also catered for the tent-dwellers by providing them with ice and hot water.²⁰⁰ In 1912 Todd bought four of the 22 resubdivisions created five years earlier on the corner of Stratton Terrace and Cambridge Parade.²⁰¹ About 1916 Todd had a boarding-house built on one or more of three of the four properties. This gave her just as strategic site as that of Webb as it virtually placed her within the centre of the burgeoning market-place.

Despite the property diagonally opposite Todd's new position having been redivided in 1901, it does not seem to have had a business on it until well after Manly became a suburb. Nevertheless, during Todd's association with the centre the

¹⁹⁷ A photocopy of a postcard indicating "how to vote" for a hotel to be granted a licence gave polling booths as the Town Hall, Brisbane and Paton's Hall, Manly. SMBBHC, postcard, (1907), VF2 1/26; SMBBHC, photograph, uncatalogued.

¹⁹⁸ QDNR, Susan Elizabeth Webb, transfer of title, 16 Nov. 1908, vol. 668, fol. 145.

¹⁹⁹ QDNR, Alfred Webb, transfer of title, 22 Dec. 1910, vol. 672, fol. 175; QDNR, Alfred Webb, transfer of title, 8 Mar. 1916, vol. 1145, fol. 134; QPOD, 1916/17.

²⁰⁰ JOL, photograph, neg. no. 141878; SMBBHC, photographs, VF1 2/66 and 244.

²⁰¹ QDNR, Mary Todd, transfer of title, 19 Jan. 1912, vol. 1095, fol. 229.

Curtis family still maintained the store, across Cambridge Parade from her. They had also been operating the postal service for several years. Russell possibly had already vacated the corner across Stratton Terrace from Todd's boarding-house. He moved nearby to what was still then known as Jane Street, leaving Paton near the Stratton Terrace corner and in charge of the Hall.²⁰² With all but one of the corners occupied, commerce in Stratton Terrace and Cambridge Parade was at its crossroads. Despite its former importance and the continuing growth of business, Stratton Terrace began to be eclipsed as Cambridge Parade surged ahead.

Although Thomas Senden took a long time to become firmly established in Cambridge Parade, he held the longest tenure there throughout the resort years. In 1912, a year after he had begun to lease Savage's store, Senden obtained a permanent site in Manly when he purchased a wedge-shaped resubdivision which Todd had held only for a few months.²⁰³ With one side running along the back of Todd's three remaining properties, Senden's frontage was the first on Cambridge Parade situated above the corner position occupied by Todd. Senden did not move to his own site until 1916 and his first duration there only lasted a couple of years. He subsequently took out a five-year lease from Paton and returned to Stratton Terrace. This time, however, his position was on the other side of Cambridge Parade from where he had begun in Savage's store. Upon expiration of the lease with Paton, Senden moved for the last time to resume trading from his Cambridge Parade site.²⁰⁴

The first twelve years in which Senden experienced some restlessness in finding a suitable location coincided with stability in Manly's business and commercial enterprises as the centre began to be consolidated. By the end of that time Cambridge Parade held primary status. As if to confirm the triumph, Senden finally settled in Cambridge Parade, having shifted his business a number of times since he first secured the lease from Savage. Some of the time he had spent outside the streets being examined. About 1915/16, when leaving Stratton Terrace for the first

²⁰² QPOD, 1916/17.

²⁰³ QDNR, Thomas Henry von Senden, transfer of title, 15 May 1912, vol. 1095, fol. 229; QDNR, Thomas Henry Senden, change of name on Certificate of Title, 17 Apr. 1924, vol. 1207, fol. 135.

²⁰⁴ QPOD, 1912/13-1924/25.

time, he relocated his business in Melville Terrace, above and parallel to Stratton Terrace. It was the first of a series of moves which ended when Senden finally settled in Cambridge Parade in 1923.²⁰⁵

The auspicious association of many of those who operated within the Manly business precinct ensures it is relatively easy to plot some of their individual commercial arrangements. Because many subsequent businesses lasted considerably shorter periods, the difficulties involved in charting them are exacerbated. In addition, the number of ventures appears to have increased exponentially between 1913 and 1918 as a dramatic increase in trading outlets was ushered in.

With the increased growth from then on, particulars on individual people are necessarily reduced. More general information takes precedence in order to gain an understanding of the direction the centre was undergoing. The most relevant changes for the rest of the period in which Manly is being investigated as a resort are those which were consequential to the growing demands of recreation and tourism.

At one stage there may have been as many as three different refreshment rooms and confectionery shops side by side in Cambridge Parade. The difficulty of relying on the directories and the frequency with which different names appear and disappear mean that it is quite possible some were actually consecutive rather than simultaneous. Between 1920 and 1925 there could have been as many as five in a confined location.²⁰⁶

The small cafés and confectioners in Cambridge Parade suggest just as much reliance on recreation as tourism for a proportion of their market. Ironically, although gaining prominence through its use as a thoroughfare to the water, there was no tourist accommodation in Cambridge Parade, as Stratton Terrace and the Esplanade were the only streets which catered for visitors overnight. Nevertheless,

²⁰⁵ Tracing Senden's movements has been simplified because, except for the first few entries, the streets associated with his positions are recorded in the QPODs. As well his son, Harold, who took over the business gave details of some of these moves in an interview. *Ibid.*; Harold Senden, interview, 17 Aug. 1998.

²⁰⁶ QPOD, 1920/21-1924/25.

although the main entrance to the “Canberra Coffee Palace” seems to have opened onto Stratton Terrace it appears to have been not far from the corner of that street and Cambridge Parade and there was also possibly a side door on the latter.²⁰⁷

As well as the provision of accommodation in Stratton Terrace, the early feature of catering for day-visitors continued there. Todd operated refreshment rooms in conjunction with her boarding-house. Furthermore, by calling her establishment the “Canberra Coffee Palace” only the former was reflected in its name.²⁰⁸ Also, John Ernest White had previously converted Savage’s premises into refreshment rooms.²⁰⁹

Nonetheless, the increasing demand for business positions concentrated on Cambridge Parade. Between 1913 and 1925 no less than thirty-five people tested their luck by establishing or taking over a business there.²¹⁰ This extraordinary development was accompanied by an equally extraordinary transformation of the landscape which had long-term consequences. Most of the new shops must have been constructed during the war years as they do not appear in the Building Application Registers from 1919 onwards.²¹¹ The majority of new structures was obviously built along Cambridge Parade, west of its junction with Stratton Terrace.

Through a combination of extant buildings, early photographs and, to a lesser extent application for buildings it is possible to gauge some idea of the physical appearance of that section of the Parade. On its corner with Stratton Terrace, where the Manly Hotel now stands, was the “Canberra Coffee Palace” – a two-storey timber building with a medium pitched iron roof. Upwards from there were as many as five small shops, commencing with the one owned by Senden. Because these shops had awnings over the footpath they formed a row extending almost onto the roadway itself. Senden’s building and another, two positions higher up the slope and

²⁰⁷ JOL, photograph, neg. no. 130533.

²⁰⁸ Having operated refreshment rooms for a year in Cambridge Parade Mary Braddock spent two interim periods running Todd’s boarding house and refreshment rooms. QPOD, 1916-1924/25.

²⁰⁹ John Ernest White does not appear in the family tree of William Duckett White. Michael W.D. White, *An Early Settler: The Duckett White Family in Australia* (Ashgrove, QLD.: Hennessy, 1990), family tree; QDNR, John Ernest White, transfer of title, 6 Dec. 1913, vol. 724, fol. 167; QPOD, 1914/15-1915/16;

²¹⁰ QPOD, 1914/15-1924/25.

²¹¹ BCA 0018, Building Application Register, ms., 1919-45.

occupied for a couple of years prior to 1920 by newsagent Thomas Dean, were distinguished by their prominent parapets. Further up the incline were probably two more shops.²¹² The highest one, distinctive for its oblique, front still stands near the top of the hill.

Today it is the only pre-1925 building remaining on that side of that street. Now all the other shops of that period have been demolished. Once, in forming a row on the Cambridge Parade side of the triangular-shaped block, they provided a visual counterbalance for a similar line of shops on the opposite side of that street.

The balance was upset when the shops on the southwest block were razed. The last to disappear was Senden's building which at that stage still may have contained the separate spaces for three businesses that were operating from there in the 1950s. That shop was probably flattened as late as 1981 to make way for extensions to the hotel.²¹³ Because all but one of the old buildings on that block was eventually demolished, its former parallel row of shops, north of the centre, was left standing in single file along the northwest side of Cambridge Parade.

Of the original shops on that side of the street Curtis' Tea Gardens which once stood near the Stratton Terrace and Cambridge Parade corner, is the only one of the original shops which has disappeared. A two-storey wood and iron building replaced that quaint establishment which was never recorded in the directories. The new building, constructed of timber with a tin hip roof, not only once provided the family with a store on the ground floor but also a residence above.

Today that building stands besides a more recent one; then a row of six other extant shops, interspersed by drive-ways, present a enchanting ensemble up Cambridge Parade. Besides the building which once belonged to Curtis having two levels there are two other shops with a second level. Their parapets therefore protrude further

²¹² JOL, photograph, neg. no. 19429.

²¹³ *Wynnum-Redlands Herald*, 24 June 1981, 8; Mildred and Ian Campbell and Ailsa Kinniburgh, interview, 21 Aug. 1998.

into the skyline than those of the other four single-storey ones. All these shops have still retained their awnings over the footpath.²¹⁴

Not until after 1919, when extant building application records are available for the town of Wynnum, is it possible to align five applications with relevant Certificates of Title. Of these, three were for buildings and two for additions. It seems probable that the only one which may have been a store was the wood and iron building Russell requested for a Cambridge Parade property, in 1922. That building was probably the existing shop on the southwest block which was built with an oblique front to compensate for the awkward angles of the property.²¹⁵

Unfortunately, owing to the scant information available, none of the requests for new buildings can definitely be identified as being for a store. While Russell, Senden and John Weaver Pike all owned property and conducted stores in the vicinity, their applications were simply recorded as being for wood and iron buildings. There is a twofold reason why the records did not state that any of these were shops. Firstly, the buildings may have been residences as there were, and still are, many dwellings within the four blocks. Secondly, like that of the two-storey building belonging to the Curtis family, some combined both residence and store. Nevertheless, one building which Russell applied for in Jane Street, in 1923, was stipulated as a dwelling, but such was not usually the case in Manly's building applications between 1919 and 1925.²¹⁶

Despite the lack of descriptions, the shops at Manly obviously belonged to Queensland's vernacular tradition of buildings. It is significant that they were stated as being of wood and iron. The extant buildings in the contemporary business centre confirm the prevalence of timber and corrugated iron as the early building materials used there.

Once their rather abrupt appearance may have been perceived as a confronting and confusing transformation of the landscape. Between the 1890s and 1925 dramatic

²¹⁴ JOL, photographs, neg. nos 19429, 40414.

²¹⁵ BCA, 0018, Building Application Register, ms., 1919-25.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

changes occurred in the street frontages which defined the Manly centre. It is therefore easy to understand the dilemma of a man who returned to the Wynnum-Manly area more than thirty-five years after working on the construction of the Cleveland railway line:

He was in a new world – a world in which the gums and the oaks had given place to homes and shops and the solitude had become as an inhabited corner. He felt lonely – out of place – but memory bridged over the years and carried him back to some place at the corner of two streets that he had not quite forgotten.²¹⁷

Physical change in the Manly centre had been gradual for almost a quarter of a century after the railway line was completed. Then, between 1913 and 1918, the precinct experienced an unprecedented growth rate. It is therefore feasible that the four blocks associated with the centre contributed to the alienation experienced by the railway worker. If they were, then a little more than a decade earlier his disorientation would probably not have been so overwhelming.

Still when he did return, at the beginning of 1926, the junction of Cambridge Parade and the Esplanade, with its view of the water and islands beyond, could conceivably have helped to bridge the gap in his memory. It is not likely, however, that by that time he would have experienced the same familiarity with the crossroads of Cambridge Parade and Stratton Terrace.

The first three sub-periods of this early stage of Manly's development had a minimum impact as far as resubdivisions and new buildings were concerned. During the next three sub-periods a significant change occurred. Although Palmer's resubdivisions were undertaken at the beginning of this period it was during the next period and on the opposite side of Cambridge Parade that massive building activity occurred in the 1913-18 sub-period. However, the slow-down in construction during the following sub-periods does not belie the expansion of commercial growth. While this can partly be attributed to the late arrival of rail, social factors such as the rise of Wynnum to the status of a town also need to be considered.

²¹⁷ *Brisbane Courier*, 2 Jan. 1926, 5.

CHAPTER FOUR

Struggling for economic and political independence

Between the close of the nineteenth century and 1925 the growth rate of Manly's burgeoning centre underwent a dramatic change. The steady increase before 1912 developed into exponential growth thereafter. Until 1912, Manly appears to have been more like a small rural village positioned by the sea rather than a resort surrounded by farms and market gardens. Although both its rural identity and image as a seaside resort were both attributes highly valued in British culture, Manly gradually emerged from the shadow of British legacy. A keen political awareness of local needs and civic responsibilities had developed near the centre by at least 1911.

Nevertheless, the political affiliation of Manly was aligned with administrative centres located elsewhere. The wider local neighbourhood became a town in 1912. However, despite portions of land associated with Wynnum having commenced subdivision later than those in Manly, Wynnum became the administrative centre and Manly its number 3 ward.

Perhaps the first sign Manly had been usurped politically was when Wynnum became the headquarters for the Kianawah Divisional Board upon its creation in 1888. Before then, the principal town of what had previously been the east section of the Bulimba Divisional Board was Lytton. Wynnum, just south of Lytton but on the north of the board's jurisdiction, was at that time called Oyster Point. Manly, a little further south, was still known as Wyvernleigh.²¹⁸ Almost simultaneous to the introduction of the railway line the centre of administration shifted from Lytton to Wynnum. Lytton's omission from the route was one of a number of various political decisions concerning the direction of the Cleveland line. Farmers from around Cleveland, Queensland's first sugar-cane growing area, had made repeated requests to Parliament for a rail link. Those pleas had been preceded by a proposal for

²¹⁸ "Local Authorities of Queensland," in *Brisbane Centenary Official Historical Souvenir* (Brisbane: Watson, Ferguson, 1924), 195-96.

railway transport to Bulimba because that centre's access to navigable water held potential for its involvement in export trade.²¹⁹ Two surveys were prepared in 1885 and 1886. The more direct route reached Cleveland by following Old Cleveland Road from Coorparoo through Belmont to just below Capalaba. From Coorparoo the alternative route crossed New Cleveland Road and incorporated the Bulimba area by continuing out through Hemmant until, about a kilometre from Lytton, it curved towards Wynnum.²²⁰ The latter route won favour because it not only avoided major earthworks and the river but also offered improved market accessibility and hence the potential to encourage the development of land more suitable for agriculture. With little debate, a bill in favour of the construction of the Cleveland line was passed in the Legislative Assembly on the 16 November 1886. Arguably, the rise of Wynnum as the new centre of administration was the result of the railway route bypassing Lytton as it looped around through Wynnum and Manly.²²¹ (Appendix III)

When the process of amalgamation culminated and Manly became a suburb of Brisbane, it could then be placed on equal footing with Wynnum. From 1912 to 1925, when it was the town's third ward, Manly held a similar position to that of a suburb, albeit one belonging to Wynnum. Even so, when Manly was in a secondary position to Wynnum, its commercial centre underwent a corresponding boom in outlets, as the former became a town.

By again examining the same sub-periods it is seen that the effect this had on the centre of Manly was not negative. Neither were the effects of depression and war detrimental to the centre between the time it became firmly established and 1925. The centre continued to grow unimpeded by these broader social changes. Much of the impetus for growth before 1925 came not only from the benefits provided by the rail link but also from initiatives to build a local, independent community.

²¹⁹ John H.C. McClurg, *Historical Sketches of Brisbane* (Brisbane: Library Board of Queensland and Royal Historical Society of Queensland, 1975), 90; Viv Daddow, *The Puffing Pioneers and Queensland's Railway Builders* (St Lucia: UQP, 1975), 84.

²²⁰ Joanne Rose Ritale, "Old Cleveland Commercial and Civic Precinct: A Cultural Heritage Study," BA (Hons) thesis, Dept. of History, UQ, 2000) 27-28.

²²¹ *Ibid.*; Mary Howells, *Living on the Edge along Tingalpa Creek: A History of Upper Tingalpa, Capalaba and Thornside* (Redland, Qld.: Redland Shire Council, 2000), 29-30; Daddow, *Puffing Pioneers*, 84; Harold W. Armstrong, interview, 23 Aug. 1998.

Despite its previous status as a town, Wynnum was not immune to factors involved in the prelude to amalgamation. Land intensification and advances in motor transport had brought increasing demands for public utilities and improved roads. Local authorities subsequently became encumbered with a growing burden of responsibility. Calls for the Greater Brisbane scheme intensified. Almost on the eve of amalgamation becoming a *fait accompli*, motorised transport was already causing some concern for the Wynnum Town Council.²²²

While some matters, such as speed, may have been novel, many local administrations had a long precedence of devoting their foremost attention to roads. One of the two forms of local authority which co-existed actually originated in response to requirements for the construction and maintenance of roads. The other was based on a principle of voluntary incorporation for pioneering local governments.

As only major towns and no rural communities volunteered to become incorporated, the government attempted a more encompassing system which comprised local governments for urban centres and divisional boards for rural districts. Gradually the parallel systems became unified after the 1890 *Local Government Endowment Act* required boards become more involved in contributing to local expenses. By 1904 local authorities were obliged to raise all the revenue for their own expenses.²²³

Brisbane was already urbanised by then. As the population of its old municipality decreased significantly, from 1886 to 1891, nearby centres expanded. Accompanying the intensification was an upsurge of investment in public utilities.²²⁴

²²² BCA, 0132, Wynnum Town Council, Minutes, ms., 9 Jan. 1924, 1385-86.

²²³ John R. Lavery, "An Historical Survey of Local Government in Queensland," in *Local Government in Queensland: A Report for the Queensland Division of the Australian Institute of Urban Studies*, vol. 1 (July 1981), 74-80; Gordon Greenwood, ed. *Brisbane 1859-1959: A History of Local Government* (Brisbane: Council of the City of Brisbane, 1959), 242, 379.

²²⁴ John W. McCarty, "Australian Capital Cities in the Nineteenth Century," in *Australian Capital Cities*, eds John W. McCarty and C. B. Schedvin (Sydney: SUP, 1978), 16-17.

At the time, Manly was still designated as country and not involved in urbanisation. In 1888, when the board of road trustees was abolished, the Bulimba Divisional Board administered north of Tingalpa Creek. Shortly after, the shire of Coorparoo was created and four boards eventuated. Under the new arrangement the divisions of Kianawah and Balmoral were established and the Kianawah Divisional Board was given responsibility for the east section. This board was renamed the Wynnum Divisional Board in 1892. The area became a shire ten years later and on 28 November 1912 Wynnum was proclaimed a town.²²⁵

Although by 1923 there was mounting pressure from within and outside the government for the *City of Brisbane Bill*, despite the momentum and Wynnum's location within the proposed ten-mile radius from Brisbane, many Wynnum aldermen considered they had the option to remain independent. While a valuable incentive for amalgamation was the potential for an improvement in public facilities, by 1924 Wynnum had many of its own.²²⁶ Nevertheless, like other small local authorities in similar circumstances, the provision of such facilities was encumbered by state government support and regulations.²²⁷

On 9 July 1924 a motion to thwart Wynnum's involvement in amalgamation was defeated by the casting vote of the mayor. A motion to the contrary was carried almost immediately after that result. Before the end of the year the Bill was passed in Parliament with the ten-mile limit remaining.²²⁸ Manly's destiny as a suburb of Brisbane was sealed.

²²⁵ The section of the Bulimba Divisional Board continuous with the Brisbane River became the responsibility of the Shire of Balmoral. Greenwood, ed. *Brisbane 1859-1959*, 256-67 n. 23; "Local Authorities of Queensland," 195-96; Town of Wynnum Incorporated 1888, *Mayor's Report 1922* (Brisbane: Globe, 1923), 7.

²²⁶ The Wynnum Town Council had received commendation on health matters from the State Health Department. It also had its own hospitals, a reticulated water supply, its own District Fire Brigade and a gas and lighting company. "Local Authorities of Queensland," 197; Town of Wynnum, *Mayor's Report*, 16; Greenwood, ed. *Brisbane 1859-1959*, 454-56.

²²⁷ The water supply was already connected to the mains of the metropolitan system. In 1912 when the Wynnum and Manly Gas and Lighting Co. was established it was subject to an act of the Queensland Parliament. During the early 1920s the government also began to pass acts and establish boards relating to fire brigades, hospitals and main roads. Greenwood, ed. *Brisbane 1859-1959*, 247 n. 151, 276-78; "Local Authorities of Queensland," 197.

²²⁸ Greenwood, ed. *Brisbane 1859-1959*, 456-59; BCA, 0132, Wynnum Town Council, Minutes, 9 July 1924, 01525.

The ten-mile radius was one of the most contentious issues associated with the Bill. Early in 1924 the Wynnum Town Council, with its jurisdiction on the east periphery of that limit, determined that “the area proposed in the Bill is too extensive”.²²⁹ In doing so Wynnum aldermen were not alone in voicing their opinion that the area proposed for amalgamation under the *City of Brisbane Bill* was too large.²³⁰

The disagreement over area, however, was not confined to the Wynnum Town Council. The united facade of the Town Planning Association belied the fact that the resolution endorsing the radius was opposed by a number of its members who represented local governments. Further, while the Local Authorities Conference generally seemed in support of special legislation, the proposed extensiveness of the city prompted the recommendation that the radius be halved.²³¹

As overseer for coordinating major services, the government looked favourably on opinions disposed towards a ten, rather than five-mile inclusion zone. Arguments for the larger area were considered more compelling than those which supported the smaller size. The newly formed Town Planning Association complied with this thinking by proposing that the larger area was conducive to more effective town planning.²³²

The government also maintained that town planning principles would be better served by encompassing all local governments in one step. This was based on the premise that the majority of rates would come from within the five-mile radius of Brisbane and that poorer relations on the periphery would not be capable of contributing to joint ventures. As well, the government saw an advantage in incorporating major arterial roads and the future port at Pinkenba into one local authority.²³³

Commercial expansion in the centre at Manly is perhaps best understood within this ascendancy of local political manoeuvring. What was initially a gradual increase in

²²⁹ BCA, 0132, Wynnum Town Council, Minutes, ms., 23 Jan. 1924, 1390.

²³⁰ Greenwood, ed. *Brisbane 1859-1959*, 456-59.

²³¹ *Ibid.*

²³² John R. Cole, *Shaping a City: Greater Brisbane 1925-1985* (Eagle Farm, Brisbane: Brooks, 1984), 41-43.

²³³ *Ibid.*

businesses became an exponential rise between the time Wynnum emerged as a town and its amalgamation into Greater Brisbane. Nevertheless, there were other tangential factors which sometimes impacted on the rate of change. Shorter sub-periods within the overall period between the 1890s and 1925 are a means of evaluating various other influences.

Even before the first of those brief periods Manly's relationship to Brisbane had been as one of its seaside resorts and, being based on nineteenth century British influences, such resorts were valued not so much for their leisure potential but as a necessity for good health. The beach, with its salt water, fresh air and salubrious climate was turned into "a sort of giant hospital".²³⁴ When combined with ideas of gainful occupation, a seaside holiday became an improving, rather than amusing, preoccupation.²³⁵

Of course some social classes were in a better position to take advantage of this pursuit than others. Therefore, it is not surprising that a seaside outing performed a valuable social function for those who could participate. This was particularly the case for the upper and middle-classes because they saw a visit to the beach as an opportunity to perform rituals and practices which affirmed their status.²³⁶

Before rail arrived, Sandgate and Wynnum both provided a hide-away for the more wealthy members of society. With travel by rail to Manly taking about twenty minutes longer than express train to Sandgate, the former may have remained more secluded than the latter for quite some time.²³⁷ The earliest evidence of Manly being used for holidays was by a family who, during the 1890s, could not only afford a little cottage but later the land opposite to ensure they "could never be built out of the superb views of Moreton Bay, with its picturesque islands".²³⁸

²³⁴ Andrea Inglis, *Beside the Seaside: Victorian Resorts in the Nineteenth Century* (Carlton South, Vic.: MUP, 1999), 51.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 22-24, 51-58, 72, 78.

²³⁷ In the late 1890s a train ride to Manly took about fifty minutes. QR, *Working Timetable*, 1 Apr. 1897, 3 Apr. 1898; Ronald Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s: A Study of an Australian Urban Society* (St. Lucia: UQP, 1973), 230.

²³⁸ Jean Hardie, "Holidays from the 1890s to the 1914-1918 War," ts., 1970, JOL, VF 919.43 HAR C1, 1.

While Cleveland was Brisbane's oldest resort, Sandgate was one of the closest. Sandgate had become the most popular "watering place" near Brisbane by the 1880s. Before the turn of the century, although still outside the metropolitan area, Sandgate was regarded almost as a suburban residential locality, separated from the city by approximately a thirty-minute express train ride.²³⁹

It was not until much later that the Wynnum-Manly area was seen in a similar light. To some degree the inconvenience of trains terminating south of the city gave the north side service supremacy. Nonetheless, by 1901, closer settlement along the Cleveland line brought a dramatic rise in rail travel between Manly and the city.²⁴⁰

The focal point of Manly's commercial occupancy had barely begun to emerge by then. At that stage there were only three apparent businesses in the centre and they were located in Stratton Terrace. Presumably the first business belonged to Frederick Savage. Even though initially entered in the 1894/95 directory as a grocer, Savage may already have been collecting passengers at Manly despite it not having a railway siding.²⁴¹

Although Russell and Curtis appeared as fruiterers in the 1896 and 1897 directories, respectively, it was merely part of their ongoing business arrangements. Only once during the early years was Russell's occupation stated. Perhaps the main reason for the omission was that his work defied the normal categories. In hindsight he probably could be described as entrepreneur. When, in May 1899, he bought Subdivision 153, diagonally opposite Curtis, Russell had already been operating a store from that position. Only later, however, is there evidence of his entrepreneurial skills. As previously discussed, Russell gradually changed the nature of his business to become involved in transporting passengers from the railway station to the beach.

²³⁹ *From Noosa to the Tweed*, 5th ed. (Queensland Government Intelligence and Tourist Bureau, 1925), 77, 101; Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*, 101; John James Knight, *Brisbane: A Historical Sketch of the Capital of Queensland* (Brisbane: Briggs & Morcom, 1897), 71.

²⁴⁰ Ronald Lawson makes this claim for Wynnum but it could apply equally to Manly. Until 1895 the majority of trains on the Cleveland line terminated at Wynnum. Early that year Wynnum trains were extended to Manly after completion of a new passenger station. A comparison of Manly passengers in 1890 and 1900 (937 and 13,454, respectively), confirms the extraordinary rise. Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*, 102; CR, Annual Report, 1890, 1900; QR *Working Timetable*, 2 Jan. 1894, 1 Apr. 1897; John Kerr, *Triumph of Narrow Gauge: A History of Queensland Railways*, rev. ed. (Brisbane: Boolarong, 1998), 70; John Kerr, e-mail to author, 20 May 2002.

²⁴¹ *Brisbane Courier*, 29 Dec. 1894, 4; Hardie, "Holidays," 1; QPOD, 1894/95.

Even later he served as a general carrier. In contrast, the major development in Curtis' business occurred earlier because, in moving to Manly, he ventured beyond his already established enterprise. When Joseph and Ellen arrived in Stratton Terrace, they had already been providing settlers as far away as Lytton and Manly with the delivery of produce from their vegetable garden at Belmont.²⁴² (See Sub. 153 in Diagram 2 under Appendix II)

For a number of years after the introduction of the railway, however, conditions were not favourable to the establishment of commercial enterprise. With the colony in the midst of severe depression, a seaside location would have been more affected than many other places. An historical sketch of Brisbane in 1897 was critical that "the Melbourne Street Railway Station is in extent many years ahead of requirement".²⁴³ It implied that service to the waterside resorts of Cleveland and Southport was not warranted. Moreover, it was claimed that for the entire year after the completion of the Indooroopilly Bridge, when trains from the southwest line began to enter the city directly again, Melbourne Street "resumed its wonton serenity".²⁴⁴

Although the dramatic increase in railway activity at Manly during the 1890s somewhat contrasts with the depiction of Melbourne Street, there was, nonetheless, still an obvious lack of commercial activity, even after the turn of the century. The sparse buildings, south from around Cambridge Parade, signified Manly's remoteness. It is possible that none of the small number of buildings were shops.²⁴⁵

Even so, about the same time a couple of new businesses emerged in Stratton Terrace. Not only had business already begun to increase in that street but also two businesses were established there in the first sub-period of the new century (1901-1906). Opposite Savage, on the corner of Stratton Terrace and Cardigan Parade, was

²⁴² QPOD, 1896/97-1901; QDNR, Richard Russell, transfer of title, 8 May 1899, vol. 454, fol. 164; SMBBHC, photograph, VF1 2/220; Val Curtis, "J. Curtis & Sons: General Store, Stratton Terrace and Cambridge Parade Manly," in Kathy Goodwin, *Virtual Manly: 1890s-1950s*, CD-ROM (Brisbane: Kathy Goodwin, 2000-01), SMBBHC.

²⁴³ Knight, *Brisbane: A Historical Sketch of the Capital of Queensland*, 58.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵ Nevertheless the structure of one of the buildings appears as though it may be the Manly Beach Kiosk in Jane (now Benalla) Street. JOL, photograph, neg. no. 84055; CR, Annual Report, 1890, 1900.

Thorp and Co's drapery. That business first appeared in the directories in 1904 and was frequently associated with Isabella Banks. By 1906 Paton's store was also operating but a few years later, when Stratton Terrace first appeared in the directories, there was still no accompanying street identification. Retrospectively, however, it is possible to surmise that Janet Munro Paton began on the subdivision beside Russell.²⁴⁶ The fact that both new businesses were in Stratton Terrace shows Manly's continued dependence on Wynnum rather than a response to outside visitors. (Graph 2)

The types of business associated with these two additions are also significant. Although initially Paton's shop was simply recorded as a "store", it was later specified as a general store. The other new shop was a drapery. It therefore seems that it was the domestic market which was expanding.

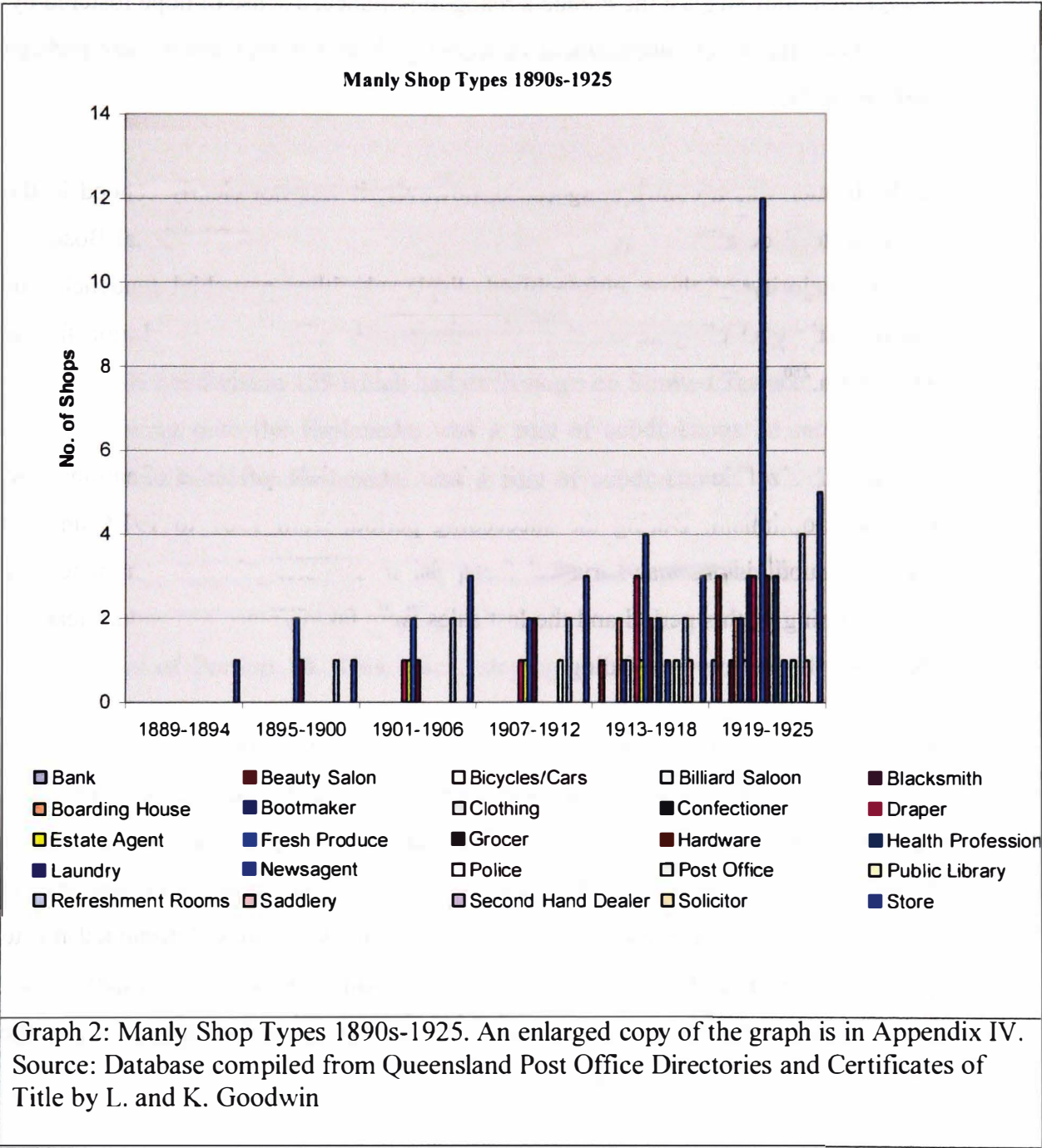
At the beginning of this period, however, Curtis and Russell became part of a trio who sought to exploit Manly's potential for recreation. The third member of the group was not Savage but Bert Port who was situated just a little north from where business began to concentrate. For forty years Port ran an oyster saloon which perhaps always occupied a position on or near the Esplanade. In 1901 he, along with Curtis and Russell and many traders from Wynnum, advertised goods and services to the people of Brisbane through the *Brisbane Courier*.²⁴⁷ Although Savage was also instrumental in developing the business centre, Curtis and Russell appear to have been the first two from Manly who publicly promoted the area to outsiders.

Between 1901 and 1906, however, there was still no initiative within the centre to provide boarding accommodation for tourists. The only space available for visitors on the four blocks which eventually became the focus of business was a grassy slope on the corner of the Esplanade and the most southeast block of today's centre. There, in front of the Manly Beach Kiosk, seaside visitors could pitch tents.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁶ SMBBHC, postcard, uncatalogued; QDNR, Janet Munro Paton, transfer of title, 13 May 1916, vol. 927, fol. 238.

²⁴⁷ POD, 1900-40; *Brisbane Courier*, 18 Dec. 1901, 12.

²⁴⁸ JOL, photograph, neg. no. 141878; SMBBHC, photographs, VF1 2/66 and 244.



Despite evidence of only a steady increase in additions to businesses at that time, a re-division of property commenced on the four blocks. Notwithstanding the slow recovery from the 1890s depression, the first group underwent the process in 1901. While the three additional frontages which Cambridge Parade gained from the realignment may suggest the Parade's rising importance, a sense of hope fostered by Federation and the commencement of recovery from the depression were perhaps underlying factors.²⁴⁹

If the former was a contributing cause, however, it was not clearly echoed in the response to Federation within the jurisdiction of the Wynnum Divisional Board. A narrow majority of those enfranchised displayed either parochial tendencies or determination to cling to their links with Britain. Their vote did not favour Federation.²⁵⁰

Perhaps the sizeable nature of a later division resonated the presence of national and economic optimism. During the succeeding period, from 1907 to 1912, another group of subdivisions was surveyed for division. Transfer of titles commenced at the beginning of this period and the last sales were taking place as residual fears of the 1890s depression were fading.

If by chance these re-divisions were a reflection of some optimism, there was an event which could have thwarted any expectations of business expansion being realised. It was the failure to pass a referendum permitting the granting of a hotel licence. Although hotels were synonymous with many prestigious Victorian seaside resorts, and Wynnum already had two, residents in Manly were determined not to permit the building of one nearby. A feasible explanation for the anti-liquor stance may, to a large degree, have been the result of a strong Methodist presence in the neighbourhood of the nascent business centre.²⁵¹

²⁴⁹ Raymond Evans, Clive Moore, Kay Saunders and Bryan Jamison, eds, *Documenting Australia's Federation: 1901 Our Future's Past* (Sydney: Pan Macmillan Australia, 1997), 22-29.

²⁵⁰ Thanks to Katie McConnell who drew my attention to relevant sections of this thesis. Glenn Rhodes, "The Australian Federation Referenda 1898-1900: A Spatial Analysis of Voting Behaviour," PhD thesis, Dept. of Geography, London School of Economics and Political Science, 1988, 399.

²⁵¹ QPOD, 1893; R. S. C. Dingle, ed., *Annals of Achievement: A Review of Queensland Methodism 1847-1947* (Brisbane: Queensland Book Depot, 1947), 233-34; Inglis, *Beside the Seaside*, 78-81; Val Curtis, interview, 18 Apr. 2000.

Nevertheless, it is not known for sure if it was intended to erect the proposed hotel within the emerging centre. Just as the majority of voters opposed the licence itself, an illustration of the planned hotel on the ballot slip reveals that it was not in keeping with the buildings belonging to Manly's prospective business centre. If the anticipated Federation Queen Anne style hotel had ultimately been constructed on any of the relevant blocks it may have diverted the penchant for building shops and residences mainly associated with Queensland.²⁵²

It is only possible to conjecture about the likelihood of the intention to locate the hotel on one of the four blocks. Maybe it was nothing more than a coincidence but during the previous period Edward Palmer, of Brisbane, had begun a significant adjustment of his real estate holdings on two of those blocks. Early in that period Palmer sold Subdivision 159 which had its frontage on Stratton Terrace. At the back of this, facing onto the Esplanade, was a pair of subdivisions he retained until 1909.²⁵³ (See Sub. 159 in Diagram 2 under Appendix II)

Prior to the beginning of this short period, Palmer bought an entire block from David Rayner who, since their original sale, had owned its nine subdivisions along with others of Portion 78. This block, sloping up the south side of Cambridge Parade, showed no evidence of any business activity at the time of Palmer's purchase. Having owned the block for only a couple of years, he placed it back on the market in 1907. It seems more than a coincidence that this was the same year that the referendum for a hotel licence failed.

Nevertheless, the sale may merely have represented astute judgment. Before reselling the block, Palmer dramatically increased the number of its allotments by more than doubling them. This gave him the opportunity to increase the potential of his property shortly after his original investment. It was not long before others displayed an interest in the properties. Redistribution of Palmer's property commenced at the beginning of the 1907-12 period and the sale of his last

²⁵² SMBBHC, postcard, VF2 1/26.

²⁵³ QDNR, Edward Palmer, transfer of title, 19 Apr. 1898, vol. 549, fol. 124; QDNR, Lamartine Finlayson Johnson, transfer of title, 16 July 1902 vol. 549, fol. 124; QDNR, Adelaide Mary Johnson, transfer to title, 16 July 1902, vol. 549, fol. 124; QDNR, Edward Palmer, Certificate of Title, 26 July 1902, vol. 1001, fol. 238.

resubdivisions were taking place as residual fears from the depression were fading. Within a few years, ten new owners acquired twenty-two new resubdivisions. Before several of the last were sold, Palmer also relinquished his two subdivisions on the Esplanade. If he had instigated the referendum for a hotel and sold the land, not realising its full potential, the buyers could not be thought so naive. The ten transfers were completed by 1910.²⁵⁴

Besides this comparatively sizeable redistribution of property, there were still only a few significant changes to business arrangements in the corresponding duration. Although a postcard from early in this period shows the Manly Beach Kiosk appears to have been on the Esplanade, opposite the waterside bathing boxes, evidence more recently available suggests it was located in Jane Street.²⁵⁵ However, developments known to have occurred in the centre during the period from 1907 to 1912 suggest a steady domestic influence rather than one associated with recreation or tourism. They concern an already existing business and the establishment of a new one. Both relate to shopkeepers who had a lasting impact on the nascent centre. Their contributions must have provided a certain amount of stability as their businesses were passed on to the second generation. When Senden arrived to establish his grocery venture he temporarily filled a gap created by Savage's departure. Between 1907 and 1912 the shop, once operated by Savage, underwent a series of ownership changes. Walter Henry Jones took out a three-year lease in 1908 and a couple of years after it expired John White became the new owner and operator. The interim was filled in 1911 when Senden commenced his first venture into business in Manly as a prelude to five decades of his family's association with the centre.²⁵⁶

In the meantime Curtis and Thomas Goodman became involved in the community in a comprehensive way by taking on civic responsibilities. In 1909/10 the postal

²⁵⁴ QDNR, David Rayner, Certificate of Title, 16 Nov. 1882, vol. 443, fol. 129; QDNR, Edward Palmer, transfer of title, 14 Mar. 1905 and subsequent transfers of title, vol. 443, fol. 129; Greenwood, ed. *Brisbane 1859-1959*, 380-81.

²⁵⁵ Eris Powell who had conducted a family history which includes the Kiosk confirms its location was Jane Street. Eris Powell, personal communications, 2000-01; SMBBHC, postcard, HF no. 64.

²⁵⁶ Details of Senden's lease were not found on relevant Certificate of Title but the date given by his son Harold is somewhat confirmed by the gap between the expiration of Jones' lease and the transfer of the property to White. Also the entries for Senden in the 1912/13-1914/15 directories show no street location. Senden, interview, 17 Aug. 1998; QDNR, John Ernest White, transfer of title, 6 Dec. 1913, vol. 724, fol. 167; POD, 1909/10-1914/15; QDNR, Walter Henry Jones, lease, 16 Nov. 1908, vol. 724, fol. 167.

service was transferred from stationmaster Hugh Connolly to the Curtis family.²⁵⁷ Curtis also belonged to a group which instigated the establishment of the Manly school. When it opened in 1910 he became the inaugural chairman of its committee and went on to retain chairmanship of the school's committee for a decade. Goodman who was a resident on the Esplanade, where he owned two subdivisions at the back of Paton's store, was also a member of the school's original committee. The following year when Curtis became chairman of the Wynnum Shire Council, Goodman also served as a member of the Council.²⁵⁸

During the following short interval, between 1913 and 1918, the direction and scope of business in the centre began to change. Early in that period, use of the railway, at least as far as Manly, increased as restrictions of the 1890s depression faded further into the background. With meatworks established along the line, more passenger trains were allocated for Wynnum and Manly. Consequently, the single track became inadequate. To avoid the disruption that one late train could cause on a congested track, a duplicate line to Manly was completed on 4 November 1913.²⁵⁹ Maybe it was as a corollary of this that Manly's prominence as a seaside resort rose.

Prosperity and the inflation of war were outstanding features of the sub-period commencing in 1913. Nevertheless, local governments had not succeeded in recovering fully from the depression. Additionally, they were forced not only to bear the labour costs of war programs but also to accept increasing responsibilities from the State Government.

Despite this, Manly seemed to fare relatively well. Just before this group of years commenced, Wynnum was incorporated as a town. By 1914 Curtis had become its second mayor. During this period the capital value of Wynnum's rateable land increased nearly threefold.²⁶⁰ It is therefore likely that flow-on benefits, generated by the rise in revenue, mitigated the effects of other levels of government. They

²⁵⁷ QDNR, Thomas Goodman, Certificate of Title, 1 Mar. 1906, vol. 1057, fol 87; QPOD, 1909/10.

²⁵⁸ *Manly State School Golden Jubilee July 4 1910-1960* (Wynnum: Lockwood, [1960?]); Town of Wynnum, *Mayor's Report*, 7.

²⁵⁹ Kerr, *Triumph of the Narrow Gauge*, 70-71.

²⁶⁰ Greenwood, ed. *Brisbane 1859-1959*, 381-84.

help to explain the favourable conditions for expansion of Manly's centre between 1913 and 1918.

No doubt Manly's increasing status as a seaside resort also contributed to the expansion of businesses in the centre. In 1910 Manly's attributes were lauded in *The Pocket Brisbane* as providing a jetty, swimming, fishing, boating and "lovely walks with extensive views over Bay and Islands".²⁶¹ Perhaps, however, that description did not compare with Wynnum's assessment as a "favourite south side resort".²⁶² Nevertheless, by 1913 there was a new appraisal in which Manly not only nudged but also surpassed Wynnum. While the latter was portrayed as being very popular, Manly began to be referred to in glowing terms as "one of Brisbane's most favoured seaside resorts".²⁶³

Although Cambridge Parade gained prominence through its use as a thoroughfare to the water, Stratton Terrace and the Esplanade were launched more fully into the tourist market with the provision of boarding-house accommodation. In the foreground of the view from Webb's boarding-house were the bathing enclosure and entrance to Manly Jetty. Stretching out in the background behind them was the bay. Todd's Stratton Terrace counterpart to that accommodation also included refreshment rooms. Besides the introduction of a new style of lodgings in the centre, tremendous growth occurred during this period as businesses almost doubled to reach an approximate total of twenty-four.

Perhaps that increase in retail outlets was, to some extent, stimulated by Wynnum's capacity to command favourable revenue. Parliament endeavoured to compensate for the financial difficulties it had created by providing for a periodic rise in rating powers and the expansion of other revenue sources. Despite Wynnum not having a repeat of its previous dramatic increase in the capital value of rateable land, an additional increase by 1920 was followed by a slight fall, five years later.²⁶⁴ So, for

²⁶¹*Pocket Brisbane: A Ready Reference Guide with General Information on the Capital of Queensland* (Brisbane: Intelligence and Tourist Bureau, 1910), 42.

²⁶²*Ibid.*

²⁶³*Pocket Brisbane: A Ready Reference Guide with General Information on the Capital of Queensland*, new ed. (Brisbane: Intelligence and Tourist Bureau, 1913), 44-46.

²⁶⁴Greenwood, ed. *Brisbane 1859-1959*, 381-84.

most of the last short period dealt with before 1925, Wynnum's potential income from rates held firm.

By then, however, the Wynnum Town Council was facing financial difficulties.²⁶⁵ The propensity for pressure for road improvements combined with an increase in public utilities placed the council in a vulnerable position when the time came to express its opinion on amalgamation. Despite the added pressure of this susceptibility being combined with Wynnum's location within the ten-mile radius, many aldermen still considered that the town had the potential and they had the freedom to decide in favour of remaining independent.

It was becoming evident, however, that Wynnum's Mayor, John William Greene, may have thought otherwise. In January 1924, after the second reading of the Bill in Parliament, the Wynnum Town Council held a Special Meeting to discuss it. Greene drew attention to the potential growth of the city and the wisdom of establishing a central authority to enable "the formation of the main roads between Wynnum and the City, and the improved facilities for borrowing".²⁶⁶ Nevertheless, Greene expressed some ambivalence. While admitting to favouring the Bill, he also stated that he had an open mind regarding the prospective size under its jurisdiction, although he believed "a large area" would be necessary.²⁶⁷

The dilemma over area was obviously a highly contentious one within the Wynnum Town Council. Russell, Greene's predecessor in 1919 and 1920, had been re-elected as an alderman in 1922 to fill a vacancy. When the Bill became a topic for discussion in early 1924, Russell who at the time was chairman for the number 3 ward Improvement Committee, responsible for Manly's upkeep and development, formulated two motions. One suggested the proposed salary for aldermen was insufficient. The other focussed on the area to be encompassed by the Bill and stated that it was "too extensive". The former was carried unanimously and the latter by five votes to three.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁵ Town of Wynnum, *Mayor's Report*, 17.

²⁶⁶ BCA, 0132, Wynnum Town Council, Minutes, ms., 23 Jan. 1924, 1390.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

Despite the earlier consensus of opinion within Wynnum Town Council against the larger area, size again came under discussion at a meeting in July 1924. It was prompted by correspondence received from the City of Brisbane Town Clerk which gave notice of a conference on the Bill and requested that the Council consider directing its delegates. Perhaps it was this request which encouraged a motion to be put forward suggesting it was not in Wynnum's interest to be included in the proposed area. The motion was lost on the casting vote of the Mayor.

A second motion not only countered the first but also seemingly disregarded the successful motion of six months earlier. The new one stated "that in the opinion of the Wynnum Town Council it is desirable that the area of Wynnum should be included in the area proposed under the City of Brisbane Bill".²⁶⁹ Once the motion was put it was promptly declared carried by the Mayor.²⁷⁰ Russell was not present at this meeting, possibly having retired in March that year when the new council was elected.²⁷¹ He must surely have been disappointed at the turn of events.

It is almost impossible to gauge to what extent Wynnum's compliance shaped the inclusion of Wynnum in Greater Brisbane. Before the end of 1924 the Bill was passed in Parliament with the ten-mile limit remaining. Despite continuing widespread disagreement over its content, reasons given for incorporating the larger area were that expressions of interest spanned the whole area and it would be detrimental for rural districts outside the shorter radius if they were severed from the capital. Moreover, it was thought that the Greater Brisbane Council could only integrate larger utilities if its authority extended over the area stipulated in the new Act.²⁷²

Surprisingly, throughout this whole episode Manly temporarily remained unaffected as the extraordinary growth rate of its centre continued. Perhaps this is somewhat explained by Manly's belated inclusion in the phenomenal popularity of seaside resorts. The fame of Victoria's resorts had begun rising more than five decades

²⁶⁹ BCA, 0132, Wynnum Town Council, Minutes, ms., 9 July 1924, 01525.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁷¹ Town of Wynnum, *Mayor's Report*, 8.

²⁷² Greenwood, ed., *Brisbane 1859-1959*, 456-58.

previously.²⁷³ And to some extent the popularity of Sandgate and Cleveland had too. Manly's opportunity was restricted well beyond the arrival of the railway. As the line was completed just before the onset of depression, Manly had to wait until the effects of it had subsided before experiencing its rise.

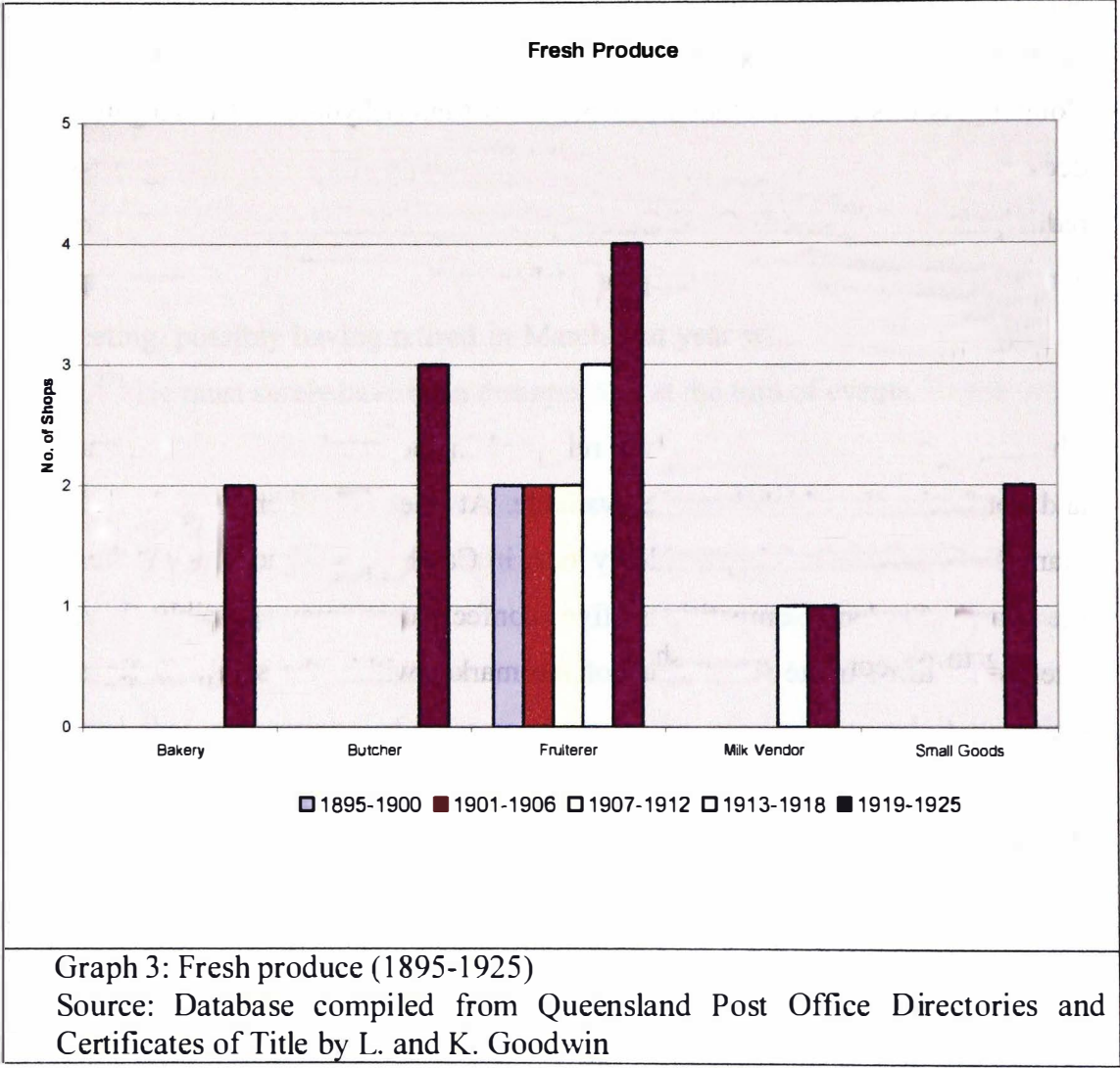
In addition, before the end the 1919 to 1925 period, Manly was involved in the promotion of southeast Queensland beaches by the press. Not only did articles appear in the *Brisbane Courier* but also by the early 1920s the *Daily Mail* had launched a Sand Garden Competition which was supported by the Wynnum Town Council. As this event included beaches from Maroochydore to Coolangatta, it was decided, in 1923, to introduce a Grand Final Competition for the highest-scoring participant. An adjunct to Sand Garden prizes and awards were monetary prizes for a ringed face in an official snapshot taken at the beach as well as the prettiest bathing costume.²⁷⁴

The area's growing popularity was reflected in the number of refreshment rooms and confectioners which became available. At one stage there may have been as many as three of these shops, side by side, in Cambridge Parade. About the time of the Sand Garden Competitions five confectioners may possibly have been attempting to compete for a share of the market within the small confines of the centre.

It may have been partly a consequence of Manly's popularity as a resort that suburbanisation became more concentrated there. Surprisingly though, real estate agents were absent in the centre during this era as well as the first period in which Manly was a suburb. From 1919 until after World War II, however, there was a steady increase in grocery shops. While this increase suggests a trend towards suburbanisation had already commenced, an increase in stores such as bakeries, butchers, fruiterers and small goods may have been an even more significant indicator. This increased movement towards fresh produce therefore began in this period. (Graph 3)

²⁷³ Inglis, *Beside the Seaside*, 3-10.

²⁷⁴ *Daily Mail*, 29 Dec. 1923, 7; *Brisbane Courier*, 1 Jan. 1924, 3; *Brisbane Courier*, 3 Jan. 1924, 8; BCA, 0132, Wynnum Town Council, Minutes, ms., 3 Jan. 1924, 1381.



In 1925 Manly's suburban status was confirmed through its merger with the city of Brisbane. It was subsequently described in terms of being a convenient location for residences as well as weekend leisure. Obviously it was possible by then to express Manly in glowing terms which implied it had the best of both worlds.

Furthermore, much of Manly's country landscape had been maintained. At the time Manly was sufficiently rural that it was feasible to ponder whether three ideal worlds coincided there. If, in any way, reality reflected these idealized notions, for a time Manly seemed to have them all.

However, as previously demonstrated, comments made in 1926 from the worker on the Cleveland railway line reinforced the evidence that many changes had taken place in the Wynnum and Manly area. Simultaneous with Manly's seaside atmosphere being promoted by the press, the railway worker was confronted by shops and houses and the fact that habitation had replaced seclusion. It was therefore possible to imagine that any idealised notions of Manly's favourable ambiance were illusory.

Nevertheless, there were other more general challenges as well. These only become obvious through examining the sub-periods in depth. This method of investigation enables the significant changes within the business centre between the introduction of the railway and amalgamation to be placed within their most appropriate context. Many of the changes were not only related to rail transport and Manly's position beside the bay but were also associated with its local political conditions rather than the wider economic and political environment.

SECTION THREE

FROM SEASIDE RESORT TO SUBURB:

1926-1950s

Contextual Background

Exploring Manly as a suburb is complex. Perhaps even more so than investigating the previous era in which Manly was regarded as a seaside resort of Brisbane. While there were many facets in the resort period, the suburban one seems even more multifaceted.

During that period at least three new developments coincided. Firstly, as Manly's political commitment was realigned it became more subject than previously to its position vis-à-vis Brisbane. Secondly, the process of enlarging the capital coincided with the rising popularity of surfing beaches to the north and south of it. Finally, the link between the commercial centre and motorisation was more complicated than the previous relationship with the railway because the route from the station to the beach took passengers directly through the centre.

The effects of motorisation were much broader than those which had an impact on the Manly centre. Early developments in the motor industry ran parallel not only to debates about amalgamation but also the emerging recognition of pleasures associated with the surf. As 1925 approached the proliferation of motor transport became increasingly entwined with the latter two.

After Manly became a suburb, the occupancy of its business centre reflected a diminution in the importance of its waterside location. During the resort period, location by the sea appears to have been Manly's most influential geographic attribute. Once Manly became part of Brisbane and faced increasing competition from white-water beaches, its relationship with the wider social environment took

precedence over its seaside characteristics. Manly's distinctiveness then became somewhat elusive.

It is not surprising that as one of the primary indicators of Manly's position was transposed to another the change was reflected within its business centre. However, once suburbia became more of a reality through amalgamation, the most remarkable consequence occurring within the three streets was that visually not a great deal changed. By 1926 business was already concentrated along the street frontages of sections of Cambridge Parade, Stratton Terrace and the Esplanade so that from then until the early 1950s only a few additional shop buildings became evident.

Nevertheless, taken on its own, the physical appearance of Manly's commercial centre does not explain the nature of the underlying differences occurring subsequent to the alteration of municipal allegiance. Simultaneous with the reduction in construction was a sharp decline in the previous growth rate of business. Therefore, the few changes to buildings and, more importantly, the standstill of business which accompanied Manly becoming a suburb, are more explicable only when placed within a wider context.

During the 1926-1950s period the most obviously relevant social context was that which resulted from centralisation. Crucial to this was changing methods of transport. That in turn provided the means through which, as it became politically absorbed into Greater Brisbane, Manly also became usurped by a beach culture which would have made little provision for a small beach with still-water.

However, regardless of the altering effects of recreation and tourism the slowdown in business was not consistent with the physical development nearby. By 1919 the area a little south of the commercial centre had undergone subdivision into estates incorporating the name Lota. Although the Lota Ratepayers Progress Association was established by 1920, residents in the vicinity do not appear to have had the convenience of a consolidated group of shops.²⁷⁵ The closest business centre for

²⁷⁵ Cherrie Nicholson, *Lota – Through Local Eyes: Stories of a Little-known Brisbane Suburb and the People who Call Lota Home* (Lota: Cherrie Nicholson, 2002), 4-6.

them was the one surrounding the junction of Cambridge Parade and Stratton Terrace.

Despite the sales of subdivisions to the south being slow, the overall population which shopkeepers of Manly would have anticipated as potential customers was growing. When Wynnum became a town in 1912, the Manly commercial centre and the estates south of it were part of the number 3 ward and remained so until amalgamation with Brisbane.²⁷⁶ By 1924 that ward's population was 1145 – an increase of more than 200 over the previous five years. Of the four wards of Wynnum, number 3 maintained its population dominance during that period.²⁷⁷

The growing demands of the increasing population could have resulted in a further extension of the Manly centre had it not been for an additional demand which was partly generated by the influx. As the number of residents grew, so too did the need for amenities and services. In turn, such requirements underpinned the decision for Wynnum, Manly and Lota to become suburbs of Brisbane. With this came a reversal in the order of importance of the physical and social environment. During Manly's period as a resort its seaside position seemed to be the foundation for its social and political situation. Upon formation of Greater Brisbane the previous physical and social equilibrium was upset. In being unified with Brisbane, wider collective concerns were imposed. The relative significance of the socio-political environment became more important than the physical nature of its seaside position.

Apart from this inversion, there was a converse reaction within the social context itself. Once Manly became a suburb its residents seemed to be faced with a changing social emphasis. Until 1925 parochial political activity seemed to dominate the social environment. In contrast, after 1925, economic factors began to emerge as the greatest difficulty confronting Manly. From then until the 1950s, fiscal matters associated with the whole of Brisbane steadily became an overwhelming factor of the social environment.

²⁷⁶ *Queensland Government Gazette*, vol. 99, no. 149 (30 Nov. 1912), 212.

²⁷⁷ Norman James McLeod, *Statistics of the State of Queensland for the Year 1919* (Brisbane: Anthony James Cumming, Government Printer, 1920), 3F; George Porter, *Statistics of the State Of Queensland for the Year 1924-25* (Brisbane: James Cumming, Government Printer, 1924-25), 5F.

Nevertheless, many of those financial concerns fell within the realm of politics. When the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century arrived, a decisive issue influencing the alteration of the status of smaller municipalities was the projection that it would be more viable to service larger areas than persevere with the financial difficulties involved in managing various facilities and services for separate municipalities. The motivation for wider cooperative efforts to stem financial burdens therefore strengthened agitation for the enlargement of the political infrastructure of local government.

There was, however, an underlying influential component of this move which had both physical and social dimensions. The motor vehicle as well as the network of roads required to sustain it were physical entities. In the lead up to amalgamation the latter was used to emphasise the necessity for a broader based political structure. Motorisation therefore forged a complex link between the changing physical and social components of the Manly centre as it turned the attention of residents and visitors elsewhere.

The advent of the motor vehicle eventually overshadowed previous forms of land transport. Through the new invention two older forms of transport were affected. Motorisation began to encroach on the use of rail transport. It also affected use of the hansom cab until, like a “dethroned monarch”, it became “almost a memory”.²⁷⁸

It was even suggested that a similar fate might later befall its successor, the motor vehicle.²⁷⁹ But that was not to be. Ford had already begun a campaign to promote the accessibility of the car. While many prestigious cars appeared in advertisements, Ford maintained that theirs was within the reach of every family. By 1925 Ford’s marketing strategy asserted that families would no longer need to complain that “everyone owns a car but us” if they endorsed the Ford Purchase Plan.²⁸⁰

The link between this newer mode of transport and Manly’s suburbanisation became more tenuous than the relationship between the railway and recreation which it

²⁷⁸ *Brisbane Courier*, 6 Feb. 1926, 7.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁰ *Brisbane Courier*, 15 Jan. 1925, 5.

usurped. Prior to the rise in popularity of motor car there was a demonstrable lack of competition for the railway in the Waterloo Bay area. The vicinity's dependence on train travel was apparent as far back as 1912 when the Wynnum Shire Council felt it necessary to exert pressure on the Commissioner of Railways. At a Council meeting in 1912 Curtis and Goodman moved and seconded, respectively, that the process of issuing family tickets in bundles be reintroduced if a reduction in ordinary fares could not be granted. The serious regard in which all councillors held the motion was expressed in the conclusion that the Commissioner should be warned that if he did not respond quickly to alleviate the cost of railway tickets he would be forced to deal with a deputation.²⁸¹

Even for Russell perhaps, the rail connection was diminishing in importance after the 1920s. From about 1916, it was apparent he had moved slightly further in direction of the railway station by taking up residence at the western end of Jane Street. His main occupation appeared in the directories as a cab and van proprietor. While it is not clear if Russell possessed motorized transport at that stage, by about 1920 he owned a utility which he used for general carrying purposes.²⁸²

Given these developments motorised transport is strongly implicated in the slowdown of business development at Manly. Many of the overall changes taking place in the three streets during the suburban period could easily be interpreted as the result of the conversion from rail to road. As well, the growing popularity of motorisation was an incentive for the unification of Greater Brisbane. Therefore the advent of the motor vehicle alone could have been a sufficient condition for the cessation of growth of the Manly centre.

There were additional reasons for this. Not only did the new means of transport offer an alternative to the railway line's established circuit between supply centres and Manly as a destination but the popularity of such still-water beaches was simultaneously being usurped. As early as 1918 it was obvious from the *Pocket*

²⁸¹ BCA, 0132, Wynnum Town Council, Minutes, ms., 9 Oct. 1912.

²⁸² It is not certain when Russell moved to Jane Street as from 1900 to 1915/16 neither his address nor his occupation are entered in the QPODs. In 1916/17 he appeared as a cab and van proprietor in Jane Street. From interviews and building applications it is clear he had several houses built in Manly. QPOD 1900-1924/25; SMBBHC, photograph, VF1 2/220; BCA, 0018, Building Application Register, ms., July 1928, no. 16465, Feb. 1929, no. 18223.

Brisbane that Manly could be reached by taxi-cab or motor car as well as rail. By 1926 a motor bus had been added to the list of the available means of travelling there.²⁸³ Rather than adding to the popularity of Manly, however, motorisation became a factor in fostering appreciation of the attractiveness of the coastline north and south of Brisbane.

Nevertheless, the departure from one type of beach to another was only gradual. When Queenslanders belatedly began to follow the interest in surfing already underway in New South Wales, Victoria and Western Australia, the railway catered for passengers travelling to beaches which were a considerable distance from Brisbane. For many subsequent years rail transport remained the best option for people heading north, as the initial motor route was not entirely trafficable. Therefore visitors who spent their leisure time at the North Coast mainly travelled from its hinterland or were tourists from elsewhere. On the other hand, by 1924 the road to the South Coast was sufficiently accessible for even day-trippers to use. So while Maroochydore was certainly popular, it was quiet compared to Coolangatta.²⁸⁴

As recognition of north and south beaches grew, the previous conversion from the more leisurely pursuit of bathing to that of swimming was surpassed by the new beach culture of surfing. Although surf beaches appeared to hold more danger than the still-water ones or baths, the risks were initially part of the attraction. Nonetheless, the dangers were real enough to elicit the rise of the surf lifesaving movement and turn the lifesaver into another Australian icon which sustained the image of Australian masculinity.²⁸⁵

²⁸³ *Pocket Brisbane: A Ready Reference Guide with General Information on the Capital of Queensland* (Brisbane: Queensland Government Intelligence and Tourist Bureau) 1918, 54-64; *Ibid.*, rev. ed. 1926, 50-60; *Ibid.*, rev. ed. 1927, 49-54.

²⁸⁴ Helen Gregory, *Making Maroochy: A History of the Land, the People and the Shire* (Nambour: Boolarong and Maroochy Shire Council, 1991), 87-91; Robert Longhurst, *Preserving Lives, Preserving Values: A History of Surf Life Saving in Queensland* (South Brisbane: Surf Life Saving Queensland, 2000), 1, 8, 12, 68-69.

²⁸⁵ Some people continued to indulge in those earlier practices at Manly long after surfing became popular. Their experiences as well as the fashions which accompanied them are remembered with great fondness. Reet A. Howell and Maxwell L. Howell, *The Genesis of Sport in Queensland: From the Dreamtime to Federation* (St. Lucia: UQP, 1992), 158-61; Longhurst, *Preserving Lives, Preserving Values*, 69; Kay Saunders, " 'Specimens of Superb Manhood: The Lifesaver as National Icon,' " in *Australian Masculinities*, guest eds Clive Moore and Kay Saunders, *Journal of Australian Studies* 56 (1998): 96-103; Vera and Ted Melen, interview, 23 Sept. 1998.

Even so, when the first Queensland branch of the movement was formed in 1905, it was affiliated with Royal Life Saving Society which had its headquarters in London. The major objectives of the English based society were not only to prevent people from drowning but also to train them in distance swimming. This emphasis was appropriate for Queenslanders as, at the time, most of the state's drownings took place in natural waterways and dams.

Indicative of the movement's impetus was that as William Henry toured various clubs, baths and schools, in 1910, his closest visit to the seaside was Wynnum. His examination of the girls of Miss Greene's High School at Wynnum was somewhat thwarted by a low tide which allowed only land, and not water drills, to be undertaken.²⁸⁶ In Waterloo Bay protection from drowning was not as necessary on the beaches as it was further from the shore. Tragedies resulting from boats capsizing on the Bay prompted initial *ad hoc* arrangements for deep-water rescues to become increasingly more formalised and better resourced. As beach activity diminished boating and yachting developed until Manly's marinescape became the site for the foremost marina in the state.²⁸⁷

Before that outcome was realised, however, the relative expenses of road and rail could have played a part in the declining use of the beach at Manly. In 1927 the cost of a return trip to Manly by bus was cited as 2s 1d. During the previous eight years a similar excursion by rail (presumably return) had risen from 2s 10d to 3s 1d. Nevertheless, many working-class groups and families still did arrive by rail, particularly from Ipswich.²⁸⁸ While the cost of motor car or taxi hire was much greater than bus, the number of outlets offering the former kinds of service increased from four, in 1918, to ten in 1927. Therefore, around the lead up to amalgamation and shortly afterwards, transport which did not always have such a limited destination as that of rail was catering for the wealthy, as well as those much less so.

²⁸⁶ Longhurst, *Preserving Lives, Preserving Values*, 23-26.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*; Merv Hazell, interview, 1 Oct. 1998; Jack Sands, interview, 29 July 1998.

²⁸⁸ *Pocket Brisbane: A Ready Reference Guide with General Information on the Capital of Queensland* (Brisbane: Queensland Government Intelligence and Tourist Bureau, 1918), 54-64; *Ibid.*, rev. ed. 1926, 50-60; *Ibid.*, rev. ed. 1927, 49-54; Philip and Jean Lush, interview, 13 Oct. 1999; Madeleine Shenton, interview, 13 May 2002.

The combination of these factors led to a decline in the use of Cambridge Parade. A comparison of railway passenger records for Manly in 1920 and 1930 confirms that the number was nearly halved by the time the decade was over.²⁸⁹ Russell's purchase of a utility suggests that while he may still have been collecting goods from the station, during that period, railway passengers were certainly not his only consideration. Despite the declining use of the station, many people could have continued to frequent Manly by car. In contrast to the use of rail, however, the car afforded visitors various destinations along the Esplanade, other than the previously popular one at the foot of Cambridge Parade.

While the growth rate of business was a consequence of the external pressure motorisation placed on the viability of rail transport, the railway system was also suffering from internal financial problems. Although train travel to Manly was losing popularity, it was only part of a more general demise of the railway during the period being covered in this section. Although in 1929 the Commissioner called for the Government to restructure the railway's finances, it took another report to end the practice of not depreciating assets. Nevertheless, the railway was also experiencing a dramatic decrease in income. In particular a serious malaise surrounded the Cleveland line. By 1931 it was over forty years old and once again had become the subject of criticism. At the time, however, that section of line was viewed as part of a general decline in the economic viability of Queensland's railway system. However, the reality was that with regard to the falling income the line to Manly and Cleveland was acknowledged as the worst for the whole State.

Understandably motor transport was blamed for the demise. A report on railway economics acknowledged that the same type of passenger and goods traffic which was formerly diverted from stage-coaches and canals to rail had been lost to motor travel. The competition created from the introduction of the latter was the only reason cited for diminishing returns.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁹ CR, Annual Report, 1920, 1930.

²⁹⁰ John Kerr, *Triumph of the Narrow Gauge: A History of Queensland Railways*, rev. ed. (Brisbane: Boolarong, 1998), 152; Queensland Bureau of Economics and Statistics, *Railway Economics: A General Survey of Principles and Developments in Australia and Abroad, with an Analysis of the Distribution and Causes of Railway Losses in Queensland* (Brisbane: Phillips, Government Printer, 1931), 23, 73.

As the older mode of transport was usurped, however, the conversion was accompanied by new financial demands. The first mayor of the Greater Brisbane Council, William Jolly, recognised the serious dilemma confronting the railway and, more pertinently, was acutely aware of the heavy burden the newer method of transport placed on local government. Jolly was moved to comment that:

Not only does it mean more traffic over the roads, but the wear and tear caused by the suction from fast traffic is considerably heavier than that of horse-drawn vehicles. To meet these new conditions, local authorities are compelled to put down a better, and, incidentally, a more expensive type of road. This means increased taxation by the local authority.²⁹¹

Inexorably, financial problems had not dissipated after amalgamation.

As stated in the previous section, some of the problems associated with roads had a long tradition. Such dilemmas, therefore, well preceded 1931 when the new mode of transport was blamed for the loss of rail passengers and the ensuing financial strain it placed on the Queensland Government. Moreover, complications with roads were obvious in local government, even prior to Jolly drawing attention to the impact a new type of road would have on local authorities.

Impediments created by roads therefore extended further back than the culmination of Greater Brisbane. Inevitably such problems were not confined to the area encompassed by the city of Brisbane. Prior to amalgamation, the difficulties associated with roads fell within the realm of many smaller local authorities. Given that Greater Brisbane was later formed partly to deal with a renewed consolidation of tedious local works and services it seems ironic that one type of such authority had its genesis in the attempt by centralized colonial governments to relinquish such works. Initially the view was held that neighbouring communities would be stimulated to help themselves by taking on local works and services. Once local competence was demonstrated, colonial governments exploited the opportunity to lighten their dealings associated with roads and bridges.²⁹²

²⁹¹ William A. Jolly, *Greater Brisbane* (Brisbane: Watson, Ferguson, 1929), 8.

²⁹² John R. Lavery, "An Historical Survey of Local Government in Queensland," in *Local Government in Queensland: A Report for the Queensland Division of the Australian Institute of Urban Studies*, vol. 1 (July 1981), 74.

Inevitably this took time and money to achieve. By the 1870s, Queensland road trusts or boards consisted of government-selected owners of roadside property. To enable these representatives to undertake responsibility for nearby roads and bridges, a government officer was provided to assist them. However, because they were given no power to obtain rates, local bodies became inoperative. Then, in 1880, local area authorities were constituted and their undertakings were financed through the allocation of Government grants. Eventually, their necessary finances had to be raised through rates, endowments and borrowing.²⁹³

The process through which Brisbane achieved local government, however, was somewhat different. When it was formed prior to the separation of Queensland from New South Wales, Brisbane operated on a “voluntary principle” of incorporation. Through these arrangements Brisbane became the former colony’s prototype of a second structure of “pioneering” local governments. Initially Brisbane was provided with a fifteen-year subsidy. When it was realised that the arrangements were insufficient to establish a stable basis for local government, the rate of endowment for the first five years was increased. Eventually a fixed amount, equal to the general rate return, was granted.²⁹⁴

Gradually the parallel systems of boards and incorporated municipalities were unified. As boom conditions of the 1880s deteriorated into a severe depression the financial needs of the Colony grew. Subsequently, the 1890 *Local Government Endowment Act* required boards to become more involved in contributing to local expenses. Two years later the Wynnum Divisional Board came into being. Increasingly boards were required to function like councils. Their original responsibilities were expanded progressively to include matters such as pest control and surface drainage.²⁹⁵

By then Brisbane had already been incorporated as a town for over three decades and was experiencing an extraordinary shift in occupancy. Meanwhile Brisbane’s

²⁹³ Gordon Greenwood, ed., *Brisbane 1859-1959: A History of Local Government* (Brisbane: Council of the City of Brisbane, 1959), 399.

²⁹⁴ Lavery, “An Historical Survey of Local Government in Queensland,” 76.

²⁹⁵ By 1903-04 boards were forced to raise all the revenue for their own purposes. Greenwood, ed., *Brisbane 1859-1959*, 211-16, 221, 242, 379-80.

centre had undergone an expansion in commerce and industry during the 1880s. It has been estimated that the population of the old municipality of Brisbane actually decreased by more than 2,000 between 1886 and 1891. Simultaneously, population in the outer zones grew as the wealthy residents of the centre emigrated. Nearby centres such as Toowong, Albion and Stones Corner expanded.²⁹⁶

Because, at the time, Manly was still designated as country and not involved in this expansion it did not become urbanised. It was not until nearly forty years later, when it was already a suburb, that Manly was described as a place from which residents could “follow their daily vocations in Brisbane returning in the evenings and week-ends to spend their leisure at the seaside”.²⁹⁷ Through differences of time and space, Manly’s integration into Greater Brisbane could be described, more appropriately, as suburbanisation rather than urbanisation.

While the former provides some distinctive, intrinsic advantages over the latter, it is nevertheless part of the larger urbanisation process. It was, no doubt, in anticipation of some of the advantages of suburbia that James Duhig, Archbishop of Brisbane, referred in 1925. At the time, he was speaking at the old Wyvernleigh homestead, once owned by the Arnolds, after it had been converted into a catholic church at Manly. During the ceremony to consecrate the building, Duhig expressed his trust in the newly elected members of the Greater Brisbane Council and suggested that they had the power to ensure that the city would be rid of slums.²⁹⁸ Perhaps it is in regard to housing that suburbanisation has fulfilled the dreams of many people. In retrospect, it has given the greatest potential for most Australians to possess a home of their own. Thereby, suburbanisation has improved the financial prospects for many Australians.²⁹⁹

Even so, suburbia has often been criticised. Some critics view suburban life as spiritually and culturally barren. Others apply Marxist and feminist perspectives or

²⁹⁶ John W. McCarty, “Australian Capital Cities in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Australian Capital Cities*, eds John W. McCarty and C. B. Schedvin (Sydney: SUP, 1978), 16-17.

²⁹⁷ *From Noosa to the Tweed*, 5th ed. (Queensland Government Intelligence and Tourist Bureau, 1925), 99.

²⁹⁸ Alan Gilbert, “The Roots of Anti-suburbanism in Australia,” in *Australian Cultural History*, eds S.L. Goldbert and F.B. Smith (Cambridge: CUP, 1988), 38; *Brisbane Courier*, 29 June 1925, 8.

²⁹⁹ Gilbert, “The Roots of Anti-suburbanism in Australia,” 38.

attack urban-industrial society as an inadequate compromise between the practical necessities of city life and idealised rural associations.³⁰⁰ While these criticisms have some degree of validity as far as the latter is concerned Manly's potential for a continuum between its country and suburban lifestyles was obscured by an interim period of extensive use for recreation and tourism.

Before the period between 1926-1950s the popularity of Manly as a seaside resort had gradually laid the foundations for it to become a suburb. The Manly business precinct reached its apogee of expansion before 1926 as its exponential rise halted after amalgamation with Brisbane. Once the change in political administration had been accomplished, the resort image became secondary to its suburban one. Without examining this cessation in light of some of the factors mentioned above, it may seem incredible that at the conclusion of the resort period a slow-down in construction commenced. It remained at least into the early 1950s. That lull was a material reflection of a change in the business aggregate brought about by the effects of factors which coincided with Manly becoming a suburb.

Dual changes, however, were displayed amongst the business sector in the Manly centre. Besides growth having almost reached a plateau, Manly's suburbanisation was underscored by the rearrangement of the types of business conducted there. Therefore, while overall business growth slowed, certain businesses were obviously more amenable to Manly's new suburban status.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 35, 46.

CHAPTER FIVE

A remote, though magical, place after the struggle is lost

The demand for recreation and tourism had partially prepared the way for business in the Manly centre to dwindle. Although the full consequence may not have been anticipated while the centre and related residential area were undergoing expansion, that early growth was instrumental in establishing the need for enhanced facilities and road improvements. The prior extension of the Manly centre was therefore tangible evidence of the impending need for changes to the administrative structure of local government.

Some of the consequences arising in the precinct could be attributed to a medium which was only partially physical. Technological advances not only comprised the physical aspect of motor vehicles but also brought with them the requirements for a more sophisticated system of land routes. Although motorisation may only have minimally reduced the distance involved in accessing Brisbane it had a powerful effect on both the choice of destinations and reduction of time in travelling to them.

When the main attraction of Manly was its position beside the water, the popular direction from the station to the beach aided the establishment and later the density of its centre. Within a short period after Manly's inclusion in the city of Brisbane, the motor vehicle was having an adverse effect on the use of rail.³⁰¹ The resultant plunge in railway passengers had unfavourable repercussions for its centre.

Although it would be naive to attempt to untangle the fine mesh between motor vehicles and road improvements, increasing motorisation itself partly contributed to the interruption of growth of Manly's business outlets. Besides improved roads being a reason for political restructure, the motorised transport which impelled road

³⁰¹ Queensland Bureau of Economics and Statistics, *Railway Economics: A General Survey of Principles and Developments in Australia and Abroad, with an Analysis of the Distribution and Causes of Railway Losses in Queensland* (Brisbane: Phillips, Government Printer, 1931), 73.

upgrades became an adjunct to the centre undergoing a comparative standstill. Unlike the railway, the car provided a variety of routes to the beach so that Cambridge Parade would have become less essential as a thoroughfare.

An additional consequence of the new mode of transport, as far as Manly was concerned, was the increasing mobility it offered. The popularity of the car accompanied Brisbane's urban sprawl and provided individuals with a wider choice of destinations, not only to surf beaches but also for other forms of recreation and retail shopping as well.³⁰² Whereas the train had once brought visitors to Manly, the increased mobility and flexibility the car afforded could take them in various other directions. This applied as much to those who lived near the Manly centre as elsewhere.³⁰³

Gradually these new conditions contributed to the Manly commercial centre's streetscape. As most of the subdivisions there had a building or two on them before 1925, the visual appearance of the precinct altered very little. Only a few new buildings were erected between then and the 1950s. About midway through this period the Manly centre began to assume the appearance of a remote, though magical, place.³⁰⁴

There was even the potential for the development of a symbolic physical reality for this impression of remoteness. In the mid-1940s zoning ordinances of the Brisbane City included a green belt of parkland outside the more urban sections under its

³⁰² Initially the railway line opened the Wynnum area to a range of visitors beyond those who probably belonged to an elite class. Ronald Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s: A Study of an Australian Urban Society* (St. Lucia: UQP, 1973), 230.

³⁰³ By the early 1950s Betty Soesman, who established her home at Lota, bypassed Manly in a bus to do her shopping at Wynnum. Jack Sands did not use Manly as much as Wynnum because the latter was closer to where he grew up and his habit of shopping there had developed by the time he moved closer to the Manly centre. It has been pointed out by Vera Melen that the variety of shops available at Wynnum and the impact of supermarkets about the mid-1950s had a significant impact on the Manly centre. Betty Soesman, interview, 16 July 1998; Jack Sands, interview, 29 July 1998; Vera and Ted Melen, interview, 23 Sept. 1998.

³⁰⁴ Nevertheless, use of the Manly centre appears to have fluctuated at different periods during the suburban years. The seeming remoteness of Wynnum from Brisbane (a little later) has also drawn comment. Melen, interview; Doris Kempnick, Wave Oehlman and Teresa Glynn, interview, 24 Nov. 1998; Patricia Bergin, interview, 27 Oct. 1999.

control. If this controversial plan had gone ahead it would have effectively placed a physical barrier between the Wynnum and Manly area and much of the city.³⁰⁵

Nonetheless, Manly's suburbanisation had become a real possibility well before its amalgamation with Brisbane. Even prior to Wynnum becoming a town, the business centre showed indications of suburbia. Although many landowners there appear to have been investors from outside, by the time the township was proclaimed, in 1912, a substantial number of residents had arrived.

By 1910, residential occupation near the present centre of Manly was large enough to require a school. Foundation chairman, Joseph Curtis, had already spent over ten years living near the corner of Stratton Terrace and Cambridge Parade. The Curtis family continuing to reside there well past the conclusion of Joseph's chairmanship of the school's committee in 1920.³⁰⁶ Thomas Goodman, another resident of the nascent Manly centre, was also on the first school committee. Many years before Thomas and Elizabeth Goodman bought a commercial property in Cambridge Parade they had resided on the Esplanade. About 1906 Thomas and his wife Elizabeth moved to a site which today forms part of the area now occupied by the Manly Harbour Village mall. The first teaching facilities in Manly were established there. Etty and Amy Horsley conducted the lessons under the Goodmans' home or sometimes across the road on the beach. Within a short period the Goodmans moved to Kingsley Terrace and the Horsley women relocated to the same street but a different address.³⁰⁷ Thomas obviously continued his interest in education by becoming a member of the committee for the Manly State School.

There were also a number of other early residents within the same blocks of land as the centre. Otto and Benno Muller, who possibly belonged to a family of farmers and fishermen in the vicinity, were painters who lived on the Esplanade. In 1908 Otto bought a subdivision on the northeast block. Two years later Benno bought an adjacent one. As the Post Office Directories showed their occupations with their

³⁰⁵ Gordon Greenwood, ed. *Brisbane 1859-1959: A History of Local Government* (Brisbane: Council of the City of Brisbane, 1959), 531-32; Sands, interview.

³⁰⁶ *Manly State School Golden Jubilee July 4 1910-1960* (Lockwood, [1960?], 2, 11.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 11; Noela and Ken Stratton, interview, May 1997; Noela Stratton, "Wynnum Manly and Districts," ts., April 1997, WMHS, Papers no. 27.

addresses, the two brothers possibly operated their business from home. Annie Louisa Nelson took up residence on the northwest block where, from 1915 until her death in 1930, she owned two subdivisions on the corner of Cambridge Parade and Melville Terrace. These remained in the family for another ten years before being transferred to shopkeeper John Fairweather.³⁰⁸

Similar to the steady encroachment of suburbia, the car took a while to impinge on other forms of transport. As far back as 1903 an Oldsmobile travelled to Manly on weekends. It could accommodate a back-seat passenger if they sat the wrong way around on a lowered footboard.³⁰⁹ Motorisation, like suburbia itself, however, only gradually gained acceptance. Even a couple of years prior to the first known car in Manly, it was still possible for horse-drawn carts to vie with the railway. In 1901, F. Tritton Home Furnisher proposed to save railway freight by providing free cart delivery from George Street in the city for people living in the Wynnum area.³¹⁰ Although Tritton's offer was an obvious business ploy, the conversion to motorised transport eventually totally eliminated such a choice. A couple of decades later, the new transport system had become so popular it was causing concern for the Wynnum Town Council. In 1924 the Council issued warnings to proprietors of various modes of motor. The Council was also required to deal with complaints from the Lindum and Lota Progress Associations of the "excessive speed" of motor vehicles.³¹¹

³⁰⁸ QPOD, 1909/10-1939; QDNR, Otto Muller, transfer of title, 22 June 1908, vol. 978, fol. 122; QDNR, Benno Muller, transfer of title, 12 July 1910, vol. [1117?], fol. 39; QDNR, Grace Janet Harnet Nelson, transfer of title, 23 Feb. 1912, vol. 707, fol. 95; QDNR, Annie Louisa Nelson, transfer of title, 30 Apr. 1915, vol. 1198, fol. 97; QDNR, Grace Janet Harnet Johnson, transmission by death, 27 Jan. 1931, vol. 1198, fol. 97; QDNR, John Alexander Fairweather, transfer of title, 15 May 1941, vol. 1198, fol. 97.

³⁰⁹ Jean Hardie, "Holidays from the 1890s to the 1914-1918 War," ts., 1970, JOL, VF 919.43 HAR C1, 1.

³¹⁰ *Brisbane Courier*, 18 Dec. 1901, 9.

³¹¹ The Council drew attention to a bus proprietor's agreement and warned the proprietors of hire cars that the relevant by-laws must be adhered to. Police assistance was requested to deal with the complaints from Lindum that motor vehicles were "travelling at excessive speed". In response to the requests from Lota to have a bend in the Esplanade (just south of the Manly centre) removed it was decided to "take action in connection with the excessive speed of motor cars" while referring "the remaining matters" to the number 3 ward Improvement Committee. More than likely, "the remaining matters" referred to eliminating the extant bend in the Esplanade. BCA, 0132, Wynnum Town Council, Minutes, ms., 9 Jan. 1924, 1384-86.

Initially the railway had the monopoly for transporting groups of people to the beach. Nevertheless, for many years horse-drawn vehicles and trains often worked in conjunction with each other, such as when Russell waited for passengers at the Manly station in his hansom cab. Cooperative efforts like these, employing older forms of transport, often rendered fixed destinations, imposed by a series of railway stations, more tolerable.

Despite the inroads made by motor transport, a newspaper correspondent, when writing of the influx of people at Wynnum and Manly on New Years Day 1926, claimed the crowds made the trip home by train. Omitting to mention if the car had begun to impact on rail transport may merely have been an oversight. It would be surprising, however, if the advent of motor transport had not already encroached on railway passengers by then, because a month later the newer transportation was reported to have made such an enormous impact on the use of the hansom cab that only one remained in Brisbane.³¹²

A dramatic change was certainly evident by 1931. That year the Bureau of Economics and Statistics compiled a survey on railway economics. As well as recognising that there were ostensibly very high capital overheads for the railway, it also acknowledged that about half the accumulated loss was due to operational expenses. The revenue per train mile from Manly to Cleveland was found to be the lowest in the state. Although from Brisbane to Manly was considerably better, the number of passengers using the Manly station had halved during the past decade and that section of the line was still below the conspicuously low revenue rate of the southeast district. The report stated that if the line was privately owned it would have gone bankrupt long before.³¹³

Motor transport began to affect even the longstanding traditional methods of home delivery. Decades after Joseph Curtis used a horse and cart to sell fresh produce from his Belmont farm, Philip Lush distributed milk from his family's dairy farm on the south side of Tingalpa Creek. He used a model "T" Ford until 1931 when he

³¹² *Brisbane Courier*, 2 Jan. 1926, 10; *Brisbane Courier*, 6 Feb. 1926, 7.

³¹³ Queensland Bureau of Economics and Statistics, *Railway Economics*, 72-73; CR, Annual Report, 1920 and 1930.

acquired an Austin 7 (commonly known as the Baby Austin) specially built to accommodate the taps on the milk vats. Twice a day, seven days a week he entered the area via Manly Road on a route which took him down Cambridge Parade.³¹⁴

Unlike Curtis, Lush never established a commercial outlet in the centre. Although some of the retailers in Cambridge Parade, like the long established Senden family, became his customers there was no advantage in Lush joining them. At the time shopkeepers bought milk mainly for their own personal use as the “warm milk” was sold neither in bottles nor in shops.³¹⁵

Nevertheless, there were already a number of stores selling fresh produce. Those shops had begun to dramatically increase even prior to Lush becoming a milk vendor. To some extent this represented a confirmation of suburbanisation.

There had been an even earlier glimpse of suburban development, however, when the number of grocery shops commenced a steady rise. The ascendancy of grocers had contributed to a concentration of certain types of business that occurred with the initial burst of business density and diversity. The increase in grocery stores therefore started before Wynnum became a town. It persisted until 1945.

Despite a flourishing trade in fresh produce and grocery items, the market underwent some negative changes once amalgamation was realised. During the whole of this period there was a reduction in the total number of businesses by about ten. Although some grocery shops remained vital, not surprisingly the number of refreshment rooms began to decline.

A counterpart of this slowdown was the material reality of the centre’s streets. After 1925 many of the buildings still accommodated both residential and shopping facilities and much of the commercial centre was left intact as the concentration of buildings remaining relatively stable. The majority of the building activity from

³¹⁴ Philip and Jean Lush, interview, 13 Oct. 1999.

³¹⁵ The description “warm milk” was intentional and Philip Lush had it emblazoned across the back of his milk van. At the time refrigeration was reasonably new and regarded by some with suspicion. Although in now it may seem ironical the term “warm milk” indicated that the milk was fresh and not tampered with between the time of milking and delivery. *Ibid.*

1926 until the mid 1950s was for alterations or additions to existing buildings or the construction of garages. The most significant building addition was like a new shop itself. Built in 1953, this entailed a further outlet and new Post Office to abut the shop and residence Leslie Curtis had inherited from his father.³¹⁶

The use of the new buildings added confirmation to Manly's suburban status. Including Curtis' extension there were fifteen modifications to buildings and four new garages while the new buildings numbered only twelve. Of the latter which largely represented an infilling around the already existing houses and shops there were seven new residences. As three of the remaining five were shops on Cambridge Parade corners it also demonstrated that the Parade had maintained its position as the prime business location in Manly. Two of the new shops seemed to more clearly define the boundaries of the centre. In 1927 John Dickinson bought Resubdivision 5 of Subdivision 377 on the corner of the Esplanade and Cambridge Parade. He soon built a refreshment room in that position and operated it for about twelve years. For a decade after Dickinson's departure, Leo Crawford used the building as a real estate agency. Charlie and Jean Cattermole and Matti and Dorothy Kolkka subsequently revived part of it as the C K Café.³¹⁷ Today this charming timber and tin café, with a parapet which curves around the corner, still graces the lower end of Cambridge Parade. (See Resub. 5, Sub. 377 in Diagram 2 under Appendix II)

On the same side of the street, at the opposite end of the commercial centre, John Fairweather built its counterpart. In 1941 Fairweather bought the property on which Annie Louisa Nelson had resided. It consisted of two subdivisions on the corner of Cambridge Parade and Melville Terrace. A few years later he applied for additions which perhaps converted what was once Nelson's residence into a shop.³¹⁸ In 1948 Fairweather bought Subdivision 495, adjacent to his others. His latest subdivision fronted onto Cambridge Parade and the higher side of it ran along the back of his other two. Fairweather then turned the existing shop on this property into a

³¹⁶ BCA, 01384, Building Register, Subdivision Files, batch no. 62, 16 May 1953 and 31 Aug. 1953.

³¹⁷ POD, 1928/29-1939; Shirley and Val Curtis, personal communications, Dec. 2000.

³¹⁸ QDNR, Grace Janet Harnet Nelson, transfer of title; QDNR, Annie Louisa Nelson, transfer of title; QDNR, Grace Janet Harnet Johnson, transmission by death; QDNR, John Alexander Fairweather, transfer of title; BCA, 0018 Building Application Register, ms., 27 July 1944, 49934.

hardware store.³¹⁹ In the early 1950s Fairweather built a new hardware store on his two original subdivisions. The new one, however, was intended for Mervyn, Reg and Doris Nutley. When they established the Manly Hardware Supplies, the Nutleys provided a more comprehensive range of hardware than Fairweather had previously.³²⁰ (See Sub. 495 in Diagram 2 under Appendix II)

With most of the initial buildings remaining on that side of Cambridge Parade the streetscape in the northwest section of the centre still retains the charm of bygone years. The buildings which formerly offset those extant ones, by occupying an almost parallel position across the street, were nearly all demolished to make way for the hotel. While both groups of shops still existed they might not have been thought to exhibit any significant architectural qualities.³²¹ Nevertheless, the intervening years, in which the number of similarly styled buildings has been drastically reduced, have enhanced their distinctive characteristics. The demolition of buildings has thereby inadvertently contributed to the preserved ones becoming a priceless asset which has helped to bestow a magical charm on the centre.

In 1954, when the new hotel was constructed, a redefinition of the centre's architecture was instigated. Its construction began a new penchant for building in brick or mortar. The entrance was angled diagonally to face the corner of Stratton Terrace and Cambridge Parade. While those characteristics in combination with a semi-circular overhang above the entrance may suggest a Post-War International style of architecture, its simple geometric shape and parapet concealing the roof are more suggestive of the Inter-war Functionalist style.³²²

The hotel therefore bridges the old and new building style in the Manly commercial centre. In particular, the parapet of the hotel conforms to buildings which had been constructed about forty years before. Nevertheless, at the time when it was the only brick building in the centre, the hotel's distinctive architecture would have emphasised the unity rather than the diversity of the older shops.

³¹⁹ Reg and Doris Nutley, interview, 17 Apr. 2000.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*

³²¹ Ed Mulry, interview, 13 Oct. 1999.

³²² Richard Apperly, Robert Irving and Peter Reynolds, *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture: Styles and Terms from 1788 to the Present* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1989), 186-67, 216-17.

Today it is not possible to overlook either discrete or unifying characteristics of the extant shops opposite the hotel. There is an assortment of parapets which all but hide a variety of iron roofs. Along with varying shop sizes these parapets lend an individual charm. The renovated Curtis' building is the most prominent one above Stratton Terrace. It and the others which occupy almost all of the same section of the street share the similar characteristic of having awnings extending over the footpath. Although the buildings are interspersed with driveways the awnings provide an element of protection and "a tunnel like pathway" down Cambridge Parade. It therefore produces a unifying and cohesive effect which somewhat distracts attention from the more individual characteristics of the buildings.³²³

Although the marina has completely changed the view glimpsed when turning the curve of Cambridge Parade on the downward journey to the water, this unique group of shops is capable of transporting the onlooker back to a different era. Nevertheless, with the exception of the hotel, it was not so much the building structures that changed but the type of business they contained.

³²³ G. Dwyer, "Cambridge Parade Path" in Manly Townscape Study, ms, Brisbane: G. Holden, Dept. of Architecture, QIT, 1984, 40.

CHAPTER SIX

Becoming part of Brisbane's

best-kept secret

Between 1926 and the 1950s, Manly's proximity to Brisbane provided a catalyst for change within its commercial centre. Despite the distance from Brisbane remaining essentially constant, mileage between the two centres was dependent on the various routes available for different modes of transport. Regardless, as far as Manly's relationship with Brisbane was concerned, it was not simply the physical proximity of the two centres which brought modifications.

Change was also the consequence of the political shift and the underlying economic inducement this held for municipal bodies situated within a ten-mile radius of the capital. Given Wynnum's position on the periphery of Greater Brisbane, it could possibly have remained an independent town for a couple of more decades. Prior to amalgamation, Wynnum had acquired facilities, including a gas and lighting company, hospitals, reticulated water and a District Fire Brigade. If, on their own, each facility or service was not a sufficient criterion for the town to remain autonomous, then the combination of them must surely have given some hope for that possibility.

Despite this potential to retain political independence, the Wynnum Town Council was not impervious to the pressures the State Government forced on local councils. Even though Wynnum had some of its own facilities there were external and internal pressures for amalgamation. The water supply was already connected to the mains of the metropolitan system. In 1912 when the Wynnum and Manly Gas and Lighting Co. was established it became subject to an act of the Queensland Parliament. Also, during the early 1920s the Government began to pass acts and establish boards relating to fire brigades and hospitals as well as main roads.³²⁴

³²⁴ Gordon Greenwood, ed., *Brisbane 1859-195: A History of Local Government* (Brisbane: Council of the City of Brisbane, 1959), 9, 247, 276-78.

Simultaneously, motorisation was quickly becoming the modern mode of mobility. The effective supervision of the main roads therefore became a municipal priority. This and the growing need for the modernisation of amenities prompted Wynnum and other municipalities to become incorporated into the City of Brisbane.³²⁵

Long before that event, the gap between two parallel systems of local government had gradually been reduced. In the introduction to this section these two systems were juxtaposed to show that, in 1892, Wynnum was only beginning to be administered as a Divisional Board, while for over thirty years Brisbane had been functioning as an incorporated town. The consolidated statewide system that was strongly recommended by the 1896 *Royal Commission on Local Government* was accomplished subsequently through the passage of two acts in 1900 and 1902.³²⁶

Between the latter act and the late 1940s, the *City of Brisbane Act* of 1924, whereby Manly became encompassed within the city, was exceptional in its provision to alter the boundaries of local authorities. When Wynnum, on the periphery of the ten-mile radius, was incorporated under that Act it was one of the six towns which became amalgamated along with two cities, ten shires and two portions of shires. Although a large number of municipalities were subsequently combined, an even more severe reduction in the number was recommended shortly after. It was not until 1948, however, that this was implemented.³²⁷

Clearly the Wynnum Town Council aldermen could not endure the strain towards amalgamation. On some issues Greene, Mayor of Wynnum, opposed government intervention. As far as amalgamation was concerned, however, he appeared more at odds with many local aldermen than with the Government.³²⁸ Besides anticipating that Wynnum would benefit from the outcome through improved road access to the

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 460.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 212-15; John R. Lavery, "An Historical Survey of Local Government in Queensland," in *Local Government in Queensland: A Report for the Queensland Division of the Australian Institute of Urban Studies*, vol. 1 (July 1981), 80-83.

³²⁷ Charles Percy Harris, *Local Government and Regionalism in Queensland 1859 to 1977* (Canberra: Centre for Research on Federal Financial Relations, ANU, 1978), 24; Lavery, "An Historical Survey of Local Government in Queensland," 87.

³²⁸ In 1922 Greene was unhappy that the Metropolitan Joint Health Board was given authority to eradicate flies and mosquitoes and was disappointed about the process through which this was achieved. Town of Wynnum Incorporated 1888, *Mayor's Report 1922* (Brisbane: Globe, 1923), 16; BCA, 0132, Wynnum Town Council, Minutes, ms., 9 July 1924, 01525.

city, Greene stressed the potential to enhance loan opportunities. Six months earlier he had favourably presented the *City of Brisbane Bill* at a Council meeting. When he did so again in July 1924, many of the council members had only recently been elected so some may have been unaware of his earlier interest.³²⁹

The pressure associated with amalgamation, however, did not only impinge on local councils. The dilemma faced by Wynnum Town Council aldermen merely reflected a much wider and more longstanding debate. It originated in 1891 when the ratepayers of Booroodabin partitioned for amalgamation with Brisbane. By the time this was accomplished, in 1902, there was an attempt to establish if other centres within a five to ten-mile radius were also interested in amalgamation.

Even though local authorities did not subsequently seek amalgamation, legislation made provision to facilitate future mergers and the debate associated with this proposed outcome moved into a wider arena. Mounting pressure for amalgamation was particularly evident within State Parliament. It also emerged in the general community via the media.³³⁰

Seemingly the response within Wynnum was not unique. As the Bill had many detractors the dilemma that Wynnum's aldermen were forced to contend with must have been repeated in many local councils.³³¹ Councillors and aldermen, from other shires and towns, may have had a strong sense of confidence in their own locality, similar to that which Wynnum's aldermen could justifiably have held.

One of the major arguments for widening geographic boundaries was based on financial expediency. Subsequent to 1918, terminable annuities with finance institutions became increasingly a more acceptable form of municipal security than

³²⁹ The Wynnum Town Council voted to be included in the area encompassed by the Bill within four months of its own election as the 1922 *Mayor's Report* showed this was due in March 1924. Town of Wynnum, *Mayor's Report*, 8; Wynnum Town Council, Minutes, ms., 23 Jan. 1924, 1390.

³³⁰ Greenwood, ed., *Brisbane 1859-1959*, 449-56; John R. Lavery, "Greater Brisbane in Retrospect," in *Brisbane Retrospect: Eight Aspects of Brisbane History* (Brisbane: Library Board of Queensland, 1978), 25; John R. Cole, *Shaping a City: Greater Brisbane 1925-1985* (Eagle Farm, Brisbane: Brooks, 1984), 43.

³³¹ Although many local authorities appear to have been in agreement that special legislation was necessary, the extensiveness of the area to be included in the proposed Bill was a highly contentious matter. Greenwood, *Brisbane 1859-1959*, 457.

sinking funds for government debentures. At the time demands for the supply of electricity and drainage were high. Although borrowing from the Treasury was heavy, the predominant lending institutions for most of the small local authorities were the Commonwealth Bank, the Queensland National Bank or the Australian Mutual Provident Society.³³²

Despite having alternative means of finance available, the Wynnum Town Council was experiencing difficulty in raising sufficient funds to meet its requirements. Within the Council, the debate on amalgamation was interspersed with reports of the struggle to seek advances from the State Treasurer and raise loans through both the Commonwealth and Commercial Banks. At the same time the fate of the proposed swimming pool at Manly was held in abeyance and remained unresolved until after the Wynnum Town Council was abolished on 1 October 1925 along with other local authorities which formed the City of Brisbane.³³³

Nevertheless, redefining the boundaries of Brisbane did not eliminate financial burdens. Inflated fiscal responsibilities which accompanied the expansion became a challenge for the new administration. While the debts of the superseded local authorities were taken over by the new Council the only concession the Government made to aid the increase of financial resources was to remove the statutory limitations on rates.³³⁴

Along with municipal augmentation, the Manly centre became more thoroughly immersed in wider imperatives. Prior to amalgamation, many changes linked with the emergence of the Manly business centre occurred regardless of the ambivalent economic and political milieu. At the time of the second reading of the *Greater Brisbane Bill* in Parliament it was understood that the new metropolis might contain

³³² *Ibid.*, 376-67; John R. Lavery, "The History of Municipal Government in Brisbane 1859-1925: A Study of the Development of Metropolitan Government in a Context of Urban Expansion," PhD thesis, UQ, 1968, 375.

³³³ BCA, 0132, Wynnum Town Council, Minutes, ms., 5 Feb. 1924, 1394, 1402, 13 Feb. 1924, 1406, 29 Aug. 1924, 01565 and 3 Feb. 1925, 01646; BCA, 0132, Wynnum Town Council, Minutes, report of works committee, ms., 11 Feb. 1924, 1402; BCA, 0132, Wynnum Town Council, Minutes, report of finance committee, ms., 3 Feb. 1925, 01646; "City of Brisbane Act," in *City of Brisbane Act 1924-1982 and Ordinances of the Brisbane City Council* (Brisbane: S.R. Hampson, Government Printer, 1983), 9-10.

³³⁴ Allan Arthur Morrison, *Local Government in Queensland* (Brisbane: Smith & Paterson, 1952), 27, 58; Lavery, "The History of Municipal Government in Brisbane 1859-1925," 463-64.

the largest area of any city scheme in the world – a huge geographical span which was justified by emphasising the various local bodies which needed to be encompassed.³³⁵

Perhaps, after having been one of only four wards of Wynnum, the greatest disadvantage for Manly in becoming part of Brisbane was its increased distance from the political arena once a drastic reduction in the relative value of local representation occurred. Before the relevant Act became a *fait accompli* Wynnum had a total of thirteen aldermen for its estimated coverage of only 14 square miles.³³⁶ In contrast the new boundaries of Brisbane encompassed 375 square miles (970 square kilometres) and had only one alderman representing each of its twenty constituent local authorities or part thereof.³³⁷ Whereas much of Manly's development had previously been the result of decisions made within the area immediate to it, the responsibility for its expansion became more diffused once the town of Wynnum entered into political alignment with Brisbane. Moreover, just as local authorities had always been bound by State legislation, the new City Council "may have had the key to the city, but it remained on a string which led back to the Government".³³⁸

With incorporation into Brisbane, Manly was thrust into a broader domain and consequently the businesses in its core were confronted with the prospect of never again enjoying direct local political representation. Simultaneously the commercial centre's growth rate diminished. Perhaps this is not surprising as the opportunity for people associated with the centre to control their own destiny subsequently became moderated by Manly's increasing isolation from political decisions. Included in this estrangement were decisions associated with the wider economic structure.

Before Manly became a suburb it had a unique history spanning almost half a decade. It had therefore established many characteristics distinct from its association with Brisbane. Furthermore, if the sale of its first subdivisions was the criterion

³³⁵ *Brisbane Courier*, 2 Nov. 1923, 8.

³³⁶ George Porter, *Statistics of the State Of Queensland for the Year 1924-25* (Brisbane: James Cumming, Government Printer, 1924-25), 4F.

³³⁷ Greenwood, *Brisbane 1859-1959*, 459; Lavery, "Greater Brisbane in Retrospect," 26.

³³⁸ Cole, *Shaping a City*, 44.

Manly could be regarded as older than Wynnum itself. Manly's first estate not only preceded Wynnum becoming a town in 1912 but even Wynnum being made a shire in 1902. In fact, after the creation of its early subdivisions, the potential for residential occupation around Manly paved the way by a couple of years for the portions around Wynnum to be subdivided.

However, once Manly became involved in the much wider area, the response within its business centre became more dependent on external financial and administrative pressures. At least, the growing compliance to the wider needs of Brisbane and beyond seemed to be more acutely reflected after amalgamation than it had been subsequent to recovery from the 1890s depression. Certainly business soared during the two sub-periods which extended from the time Wynnum became a town in 1912 until it merged with Brisbane in 1925.

Superficially at least, Manly did not fail to achieve some benefits from the new arrangement. In September 1926, the swimming baths there were finally opened after the plans for it had been submitted to the Wynnum Town Council two and a half years previously. The construction, however, was reported to be well under way by the time the Greater Brisbane Council came into being.³³⁹ Nevertheless, the new Council featured prominently in the opening ceremony.

Such an outcome was indicative of the renewed impact that external factors had later on Manly's businesses. For the first time the business aggregate fell. Between 1926 and 1932, the first short period when Manly was a suburb, there was a considerable reduction in the total number of shops being operated there. Those providing groceries and fresh produce did not seem to be affected. Not surprisingly, however, the number of refreshment rooms began to decline.

Unfortunately too, another depression began to confront the country. As early as 1928 Brisbane's first Mayor, William Jolly, foreshadowed it. By 1931, Greene, the second Mayor of Brisbane, found himself with onerous financial responsibilities

³³⁹ SMBBHC, VF2 2/148, untitled newspaper [indicated as possibly being the Wynnum Manly Recorder], 27 Sept. 1926; SMBBHC, VF2 2/148, untitled newspaper, [? Sept. 1926]; BCA, 0132, Wynnum Town Council, Minutes, report of works committee, ms., 11 Feb. 1924.

similar to those he had hoped to overcome, when, as Mayor of Wynnum, he supported the *City of Brisbane Bill*. Greene's attempt to balance the budget proved unsuccessful. To some extent his efforts were thwarted by his refusal to reduce the budget further because doing so would mean that employment would be less stable.³⁴⁰

The problem, however, was much wider than the boundaries of Brisbane. Buoyed by Britain, State and Federal governments continued to favour rural industries over manufacturing, despite the latter becoming the economy's predominant growth sector. At the end of the 1920s, when immigration and closer settlement programmes failed to reinvigorate the rural sector and Australia was confronted with adverse trade terms, the nation began a gradual decline into depression.³⁴¹

Already Queensland had been faring badly. Underpinning this were a number of factors which would also have helped contribute to the drastic fall of business in Manly during its first short period of these suburban years. Attempts to ameliorate the State's vast distances with programmes of closer or soldier settlement were not only unsuccessful but also contributed to the financial burden. Moreover a scale of freight charges designed to favour long distances provided no incentive for manufacturers. In the company of those states which lacked a solid manufacturing base, the Queensland economy began to lag behind others, particularly Victoria and New South Wales. Because the latter two had an earlier start in secondary industry, manufacturers in both states had secured a lead which remained unmodified by any subsequent imposition of tariffs.³⁴²

Queensland became an "industrial enigma".³⁴³ Admittedly this could have been partly the result of the lack of inherent power which Federation imposed on the state vis-à-vis other states. It is also arguable, however, whether the situation was largely due to the inability of successive governments in Queensland to find a solution

³⁴⁰ Greenwood, ed., *Brisbane 1859-1959*, 496-97; BCA, 1932, Wynnum Town Council, Minutes, ms., 23 Jan. 1924, 1390.

³⁴¹ Marian Gough, Helen Hughes, B.J. McFarlane and G.R. Palmer, *Queensland: Industrial Enigma Manufacturing in the Economic Development of Queensland* (London: CUP, 1964), 8.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, 8-10.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*

within their own jurisdiction.³⁴⁴ Regardless of the reasons, in the lead up to the depression Queensland's immense size and weak manufacturing base was having a detrimental effect, particularly relative to some of its counterparts.

The hardship caused by the latter was reflected in the Manly shopping centre during the 1930s depression. This is highlighted through the comparison of a grocery and tailoring business. Whatever respect and loyalty Thomas Senden acquired before the 1930s, must surely have grown during the depression as his son, Harold, remembers that during that time his father was kind and generous and would never allow anyone to starve or a baby to be in need of milk. Harold believed that because his father was in grocery retail during those years he was a little more fortunate than most other people.³⁴⁵

On the other hand the depression seems to have been the beginning of the end for tailor Peter Hansen. He rented a shop from Richard Russell on the corner of Cambridge Parade and Jane Street in 1923 and his family took up residence in a house, also belonging to Russell, just behind it. Early in the depression, though, Hansen found it necessary to support his large family by working in Bundaberg. It was probably only a year later that he returned to live with his family in a residence above a shop, on the opposite side of Cambridge Parade from their previous location. There Hansen's wife, Lily, assisted him and they supplemented their work as tailors through arrangements with a shoe company. When that agreement faltered, Peter Hansen finally gave up the Manly business to work for a suit specialist in the city.³⁴⁶

Obviously mitigating circumstances surrounded the demise of Hansen's business. But all conditions were not the result of an ill-fated business deal and the depression. Unfortunately, suit making was a highly specialised business and

³⁴⁴ Not all Queensland governments neglected giving assistance to manufacturers. The first to do so, however, was thwarted by the depression. When the Moore Country-National government came to office, in 1929, it attempted to assist local manufacturers by passing an act to provide advances and guarantee bank loans in an attempt to encourage industrial growth. Unfortunately, the onset of the depression prevented private enterprise from taking advantage of the opportunity. *Ibid.*, 5-10.

³⁴⁵ Harold Senden, interview, 17 Aug. 1998.

³⁴⁶ Ron Hansen, interview, 27 Oct. 1999; Ron Hansen, personal communication, Dec. 2000.

perhaps more appropriate for a city centre with a large customer base than a small suburban one.

In general, however, the experience of Queenslanders during the depression was not as bad as that of residents in other states. Ironically this was primarily because the manufacturing sector was less well developed in Queensland. Hence workers in the state were faced with lower unemployment.³⁴⁷

Still, the State Government needed to deal with the lack of employment. During the 1933-38 sub-period, the matter resulted in a fruitful collaboration between the City Council and State Government. Previously, when Greene was Mayor of Brisbane, the traditional authority of the Council had been eroded as the State Government intruded into some of the central concerns of his administration. During the following administration, the Government and the Council began to cooperate productively to alleviate unemployment. Because the Government favoured the expansion of a public works program it assisted the Council by subsidy and relief labour and supported its requests for loans.³⁴⁸

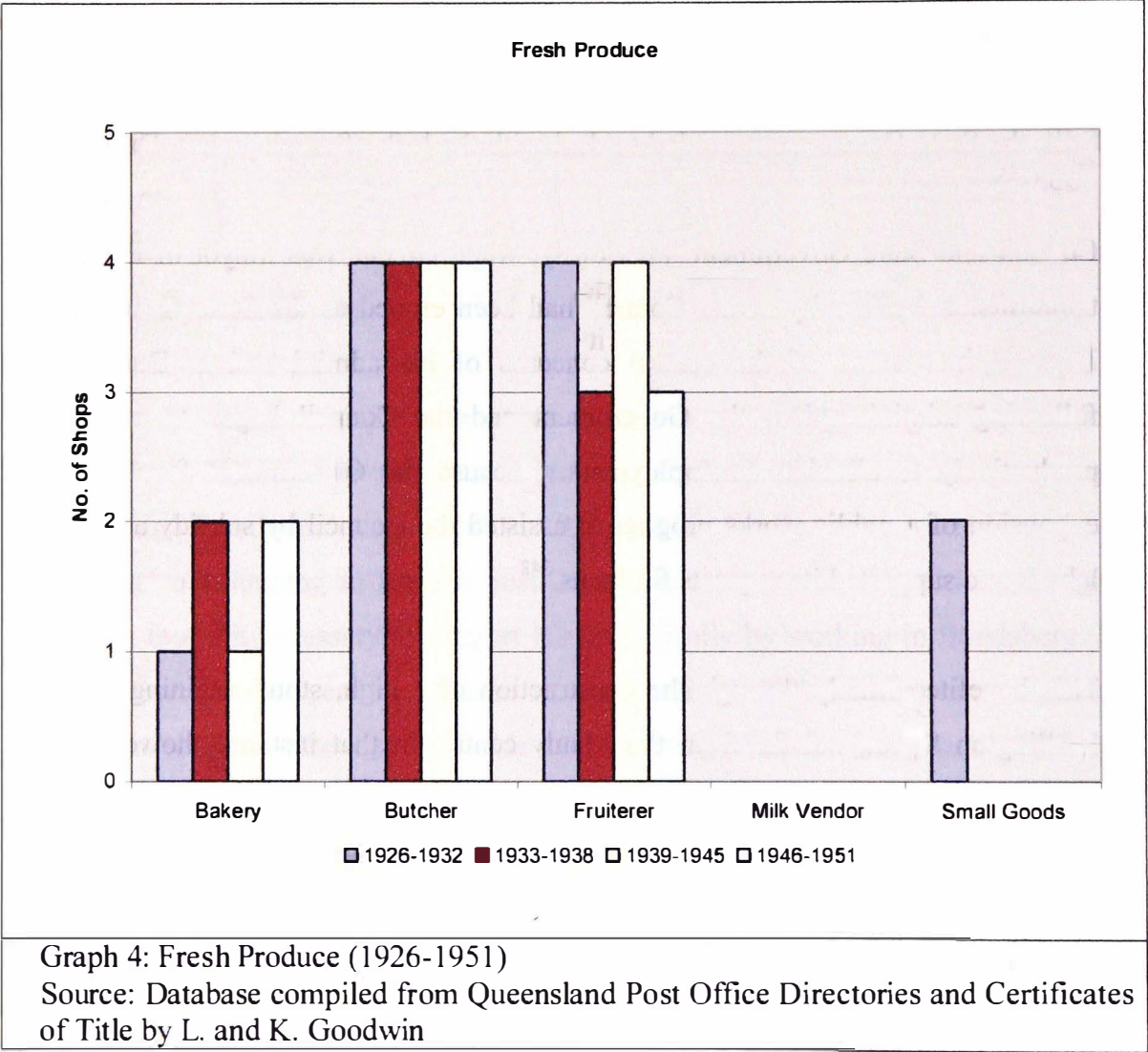
This benefited Manly through the construction of a high, stone retaining wall in Wellington Street, not far from the Manly centre. In that instance, however, the Government was pressured by the unscheduled beginning of the project thanks to the efforts of Joe Sands who became an engineer for the Brisbane City Council after he was made redundant as Shire Clerk and engineer for the Wynnum Town Council.³⁴⁹ Such efforts may have assisted the number of businesses and services in Manly's centre to rise again.

An interesting anomaly was the decline of fresh produce outlets. Although they had been maintained at about twelve, for the two previous sub-periods, shops selling such foodstuffs reverted to a new low of approximately nine. The number of outlets for that type of goods never recovered from this low before the 1950s. (Graph 4)

³⁴⁷ Gough, *et al.*, *Queensland: Industrial Enigma*, 10.

³⁴⁸ Greenwood, *Brisbane 1859-1959*, 500-03.

³⁴⁹ Jack Sands, interview, 29 July 1998.



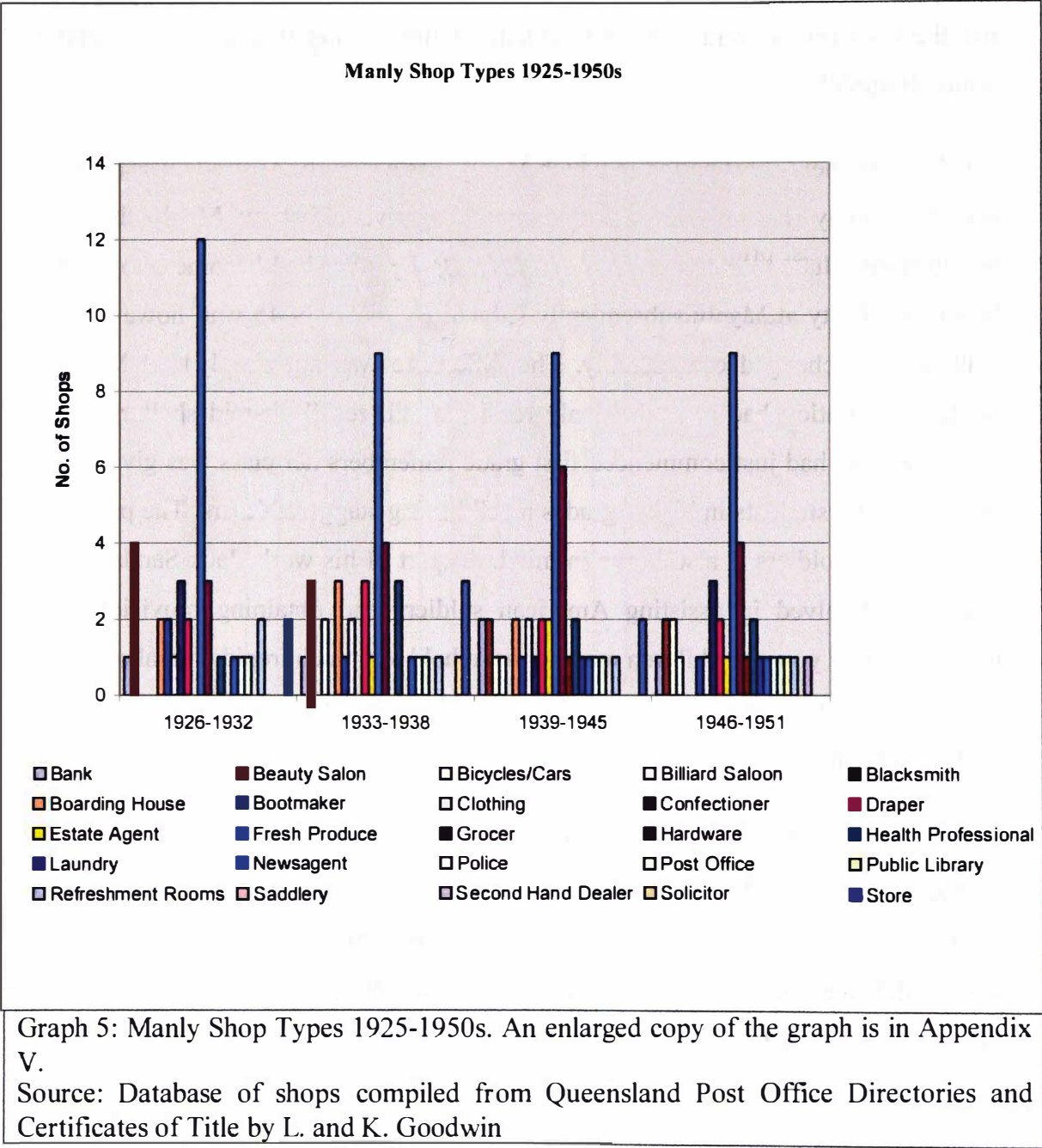
Not surprising, however, was the reduction of confectioners and refreshment rooms. Both fell to one each, and while confectionery shops recovered to three during the next decade, there was one refreshment room still when the 1950s arrived. Therefore, after nearly forty years had passed since the Curtis family commenced their Tea Gardens, the Manly business centre had only a sole refreshment room once more. By that time though, the cultural landscape had changed enormously and the later refreshment room was situated within a hugely expanded shopping centre. (Graph 5)

For the entire next short period in which Manly was a suburb, Australia was again at war. Seemingly World War II had a more negative effect on Manly than the previous one. Just prior to the First World War, Wynnum had become a town and business activity at Manly subsequently surged. By the 1939-45 war, however, the situation had changed considerably. The difference was not simply that Manly's political affiliation had altered. Manly residents still recall air-raid shelters being dug. One who had just commenced first grade remembers her class was given time off school and students in higher grades recall having staggered hours. The presence of American soldiers is also borne in mind. As part of his work, Jack Sands (Joe's son) was involved in assisting American soldiers and obtaining provisions for them.³⁵⁰ While younger children may not have held too much trepidation about such activities, the experience of those who were older suggests there was a mood of impending danger.

The reality was that through World War II Australia was thrust more directly into international events. Activities of the Brisbane City Council were severely restricted by the war effort as many normal functions of the Council became subordinate to wider defence-related responsibilities.³⁵¹ Even though this had immediate implications for Manly as by then it was a suburb it is necessary to consider that, if Wynnum had remained independent, the outcome may still have been similar.

³⁵⁰ Sands, interview; Doris Kempnick, Wave Oehlman and Teresa Glynn, interview, 24 Nov. 1998; Patricia Bergin, interview, 27 Oct. 1999.

³⁵¹ Greenwood, *Brisbane 1859-1959*, 523.



Nevertheless, there was an absence of the strong sense of self-identity experienced within Manly during the previous war and evidenced through commerce in the centre soaring. The business sector apparently reached a plateau during the 1939-45 war. Between the 1933-38 sub-period and this one there seems to have been no downturn in business activity. Perhaps an even more significant factor was that the alterations to business types mainly confirmed Manly's position as a suburb. Exceptions to this were the reduction of beauty salons and fresh produce which had risen after World War I and fallen during the 1930s depression. Understandably, during World War II beauty salons reached the lowest number since their first increase. Other changes, however, more accurately reflected Manly's suburban status. Not surprisingly the essential business of grocery supply continued to rise. An additional real estate agent entered the market and new business initiatives included a hardware store and laundry.

The final sub-period is post World War II which was dominated by the economic theory of John Maynard Keynes. His theory promoted increased government expenditure in order to stimulate consumer demand and ensure economic stability and full employment. Before the end of the war Australia had entered a development boom and by 1946 many government-funded projects provided full employment and were accompanied by an immigration program which encouraged additional workers to enter the country.³⁵² Having a reduced amount of industry, compared to many other capitalist countries, Australia made a less complex transition into the corporate world. Market forces relatively easily accomplished the conversion without excessive dependence on the state. As in Western Australia, incentive schemes of the Queensland Government stimulated entrepreneurial initiatives.³⁵³

Corporate influences, to some extent, intruded into Manly. It was not that similar initiatives had not been present previously. When the three Arnold brothers bought their two portions of land and quickly subdivided them for resale, they obviously had the financial backing and sufficient business acumen to enable them to exhibit

³⁵² Richard Grant and Elim Papadakis, "The Development of Australian Society," in Jake M. Najman and John S. Western eds, *The Sociology of Australian Society* 3rd ed. (South Yarra: Macmillan, 2000), 27.

³⁵³ Patrick Mullins, "Is Australian Urbanisation Different?," in Jake M. Najman and John S. Western eds *A Sociology of Australian Society: Introductory Readings* (St. Lucia: UQ, 1988), 534-37.

some corporate tendencies. As previously mentioned, early in the twentieth century Thorpe and Co., drapers, operated from, though never owned, a shop on the corner of Stratton Terrace and Cardigan Parade. In 1929, Richard Russell leased his property in the centre to the Bank of New South Wales. By 1960, when the Commonwealth Savings Bank of Australia purchased Resubdivision 1 of that site, there had been several other properties bought by commercial groups. The second resubdivision of Russell's original subdivision was sold to Southside Developments a few years later, after the group had already purchased the neighbouring property on which Janet Paton had begun.³⁵⁴

Similarly as with the early, individual shopkeepers, it was the corner positions which attracted corporate interest. Particularly popular were the three prominent corners which had been redivided before 1925. In 1957 Brisbane Produce Supplies bought what was by then Frederick Smith's Bakery on the corner of Stratton Terrace and Cardigan Parade. Savage, who was the original shopkeeper in that position had left for Beenleigh about 1911 and, after the property passed through a number of owners, it was redivided when Smith bought it in 1921.³⁵⁵

The other two significant corners purchased for corporate interests in the 1950s were positioned diagonally opposite each other across the Stratton Terrace and Cambridge Parade intersection. Both had been part of the first two re-divisions which had been resurveyed early in the twentieth century, before the centre commenced its extraordinary rise. In 1955 the Commonwealth Oil Refineries purchased three of a group of six resubdivisions which had been resurveyed for sale in 1901. At the same time the oil company purchased two subdivisions beside these, along Stratton Terrace.³⁵⁶

Perhaps more important than that, however, was the purchase involving the corner diagonally opposite on which Todd had operated the "Canberra Coffee Palace". The site was one of the three locations for which tenders for a hotel were submitted in

³⁵⁴ QDNR, Richard Russell, lease, 28 Oct. 1929, vol. 1015, fol. 119; QDNR, Commonwealth Savings Bank of Australia, transfer of title, 12 Oct. 1960, vol. 2941, fol. 130; QDNR, Commonwealth Savings Bank of Australia, transfer of title, 12 Oct. 1960, vol. 2941, fol. 130.

³⁵⁵ QDNR, Frederick Savage, transfer of title, 27 Feb. 1921, vol. 724, fol. 167; QDNR, Dancers' Bakeries, transfer of title, 23 May, 1957, vol. 1478, fol. 59; Senden, interview.

³⁵⁶ QDNR, Commonwealth Oil Refineries, transfer of title, 30 Nov. 1955, vol. 2788, fol. 73 and vol. 1145, fol. 148.

December 1953. The Community Manly Hotel Pty. Ltd. was formed in connection with this location but was disbanded before the application for building the hotel was submitted by Stefano Degiovanni, in 1954.³⁵⁷ A few months later, he and Roberto Scagliotti bought the site as “a purely business venture” and the hotel was sold soon after completion.³⁵⁸

By then Manly had become subjected to wider market forces than ever before. The new approach in economics which had begun after World War II overlapped with the increasing mobility being offered by motorized transport. The consequence for a small suburb on the outskirts of Brisbane was perhaps not surprising. For the second time since Manly’s heyday in 1925, business fell to its lowest aggregate. While fresh produce did not appear to go below the number it had fallen to during the 1933-38 period, grocery shops declined to about four. Although this represents one more than at the conclusion of Manly’s heyday as a resort and the first short period after being incorporated into Brisbane, it not only equalled some of the depression years but fell two short of the war years.

The post-war period therefore had a detrimental effect on the centre’s growth. By the time of its merger into Greater Brisbane, residents of Manly had the benefits of a thriving commercial centre. When the early 1930s arrived not only were bus companies advertising their services to the southern area of the bay and Manly’s hot salt baths but massage parlours were also attempting to trade on the therapeutic benefits of seawater.³⁵⁹ By then, however, business in Manly had suffered a setback and was beginning to settle into a long term of lethargy. It was not only the impact of the depression and the more circuitous routes of transport but also the new administrative arrangements and the upsurge of interest in surfing beaches that caused commerce to slow. The potential for Manly to become a well-kept secret of Brisbane suburbia was already being formed.

Nevertheless, Manly’s repute did not fade immediately. Soon after it had become a suburb there was a show of political diplomacy when Manly received its long

³⁵⁷ QSA, TR1773/3, Licensing Commission, Minutes of Meeting, 14 Dec. 1953; BCA, Building Register, Subdivision Files, batch 61, no. 54, 15 Mar. 1954.

³⁵⁸ QDNR, Stefano Degiovanni and Roberto Scagliotti, transfer of title, 14 July 1954, vol. 2254, fol. 90; Sands, interview.

³⁵⁹ *Greater Brisbane Atlas Directory*, c. 1930-32, 396-98, 406.

awaited pool. As this occurred in September 1926 it was partly at the behest of the Brisbane City Council. Included among the Brisbane dignitaries attending the opening was Alderman W.L. Dart, Wynnum's representative on the newly formed Council. Also present were Joe Sands and Manly Progress Association secretary F. W. Wolter and president, Richard Russell.

In acting as host for the afternoon Russell must surely have found a courteous façade difficult to maintain. The Mayor, William Jolly, arrived late and using the poor state of the roads as his excuse promised that within a few months a new one to Brisbane would be completed. Not ignoring the excellent opportunity of having the attention of the Mayor and several aldermen, Russell proposed a toast to the City Council then expressed the needs of the local area, including parking spaces for cars. Having been engaged in local community and political activities for many years, Russell was no doubt acutely aware that the peak of ample local representation had passed.

Perhaps Greene's rise to Mayor of Brisbane was an attempt to regain more direct local access to decision making. Even if Greene himself was not parochial, many aldermen feared that outlying districts would receive favour because he and his inner cabinet represented such areas. They attained their positions through a new legislative requirement that the Mayor and an executive committee be elected from among the aldermen so, despite the Progress Party (of which Greene was the most prominent member) having received the lowest constituent vote, his position and that of his executive was effectively an internal backlash against the very popular Civic Reform League which mainly represented business interests.³⁶⁰

The time had not yet come, however, for a thorough recognition of the vague nature of local politics. Before the 1950s it was obvious that representation for Manly, was becoming mitigated through outside networks. Today it is increasingly possible to challenge the "politics of place" which, in a democracy, contain competing globalised networks. Deconstructing multiple "forms of space" can now challenge

³⁶⁰ Greenwood, *Brisbane 1859-1959*, 490-94; Laverty, "Greater Brisbane in Retrospect," 32.

rival interests.³⁶¹ Using this approach in 1926 would probably not even have been considered.

When the baths were completed, not far from the lower end of Cambridge Parade, soon after amalgamation it may have been thought a triumph of representation. However, it took another twenty-five years for the Parade to receive sewerage.³⁶² This shows that whatever the initial degree of success local representation had it did not endure.

The intervening years between the opening of the baths and the arrival of sewerage represented an incredible lull in the Manly shopping centre which lasted at least into the 1950s. This tangible slowdown was indicative of the evolution of the Waterloo Bay area into a well-kept or even Brisbane's best-kept secret.³⁶³ Some residents of Manly, however, may have enjoyed or even preferred that quiet way of life.

While to outsiders Manly may have remained quaint and mysterious, some who owned businesses in the commercial centre chose to preserve a sense of mystery. Certain aspects of working and living there were not shared on tape recordings. Furthermore, there are only allusions to Manly's traders losing use of a hall in Melville Terrace. In keeping with this caution the whereabouts of the records of their Association prior to the 1950s have, as yet, not been able to be traced. Therefore, secrets are not only extrinsic but are also intrinsic to Manly as its centre became subjected to being a 'secret' of Brisbane and an obscured topic as well. Some of this information may have added an extra dimension to the present study.

Nevertheless, the details of successive changes operating within confined periods do allow some depth to be achieved. Examining some of the events surrounding each sub-period provides an opportunity to insert relevant aspects of cause and effect which may otherwise have been skewed. A more appropriate correlation between time and event has deepened the exposition.

³⁶¹ Murry Low, "Representation Unbounded: Globalizaion and Democracy," in *Spaces of Globalization: Reasserting the Power of the Local*, Kevin R. Cox, ed. (New York: Guilford, 1997), 273.

³⁶² BCC, Dept. Works and Sewerage, survey maps, 1951, W 40, 41, 44.

³⁶³ Harold W. Armstrong, interview, 23 Aug. 1998; Mervyn Beitz, interview, 22 July 1998.

The former, at least, was something that early owners of businesses in the centre, strove to overcome. The attempt in 1901 by shop owners, including Curtis and Russell, to bring outsiders into Manly was followed only a couple of decades later by Manly being absorbed by the larger society they hoped to attract. Not only that but just over twenty-five years after suburbanisation, the intrusion of war and the economic policies which followed meant that the occupants of Manly had lost forever the hope of returning to the independent initiatives on which the centre was established. Endeavours to promote Manly to the people of Brisbane had resulted in their cherished centre being somewhat lost on the periphery of that city.

CONCLUSION

Before Manly became a seaside resort and suburb it passed through periods of pre-European and early European occupation. This first sequence in its occupation was one in which Aborigines lived a lifestyle mainly concentrated around their local area. Graziers, farmers and boating enthusiasts later became the main occupants and users of the area. Consequently, a rural lifestyle was integrated with the rise of Manly as a seaside resort. Its location by the bay remained an important feature even after suburbanisation.

Between the 1890s and the 1950s the interaction of both the physical and social environment had a dynamic effect on the Manly commercial centre. As Manly shed some of its rural image for that of a seaside resort the attraction of its fertile soil and coastal waters ensured that the physical environment remain equally as important as its socio-political one. The political and economic environment, however, increased in prominence just prior to Manly becoming a suburb. Moreover, although economic considerations were evident from the outset of the suburban period, their influence gradually overtook those of a more political nature.

Evolving with these changes were a number of significant adjustments within Manly's commercial centre. The most dramatic of those became evident after 1925. That year therefore signifies a watershed in the centre's development. About that time, a number of social processes relevant to the growth of the centre reached their climax. At least three developments unfolded simultaneously to produce a crucial effect on Manly's business centre. These were the amalgamation of Greater Brisbane, rail transport being usurped by motorisation and the rising popularity of surfing beaches to the north and south of Brisbane.

As they all reached a vital stage simultaneously, their combination had an effect on the rate of growth in the Manly business precinct. Initially the railway line connected demand-generating centres with the popular destination of Manly. After amalgamation, however, the motor vehicle and the choices it provided for leisure and shopping destinations was instrumental in the declining number of businesses.

As far as leisure was concerned, the increased opportunities did not only relate to the reduction in the time taken to reach beaches further from Brisbane. There was also a change in beach culture which incorporated an increase in beach safety. To some extent though, motorisation was also a significant contributing factor to the overall change in that culture because the mobility it offered helped to popularise white-water locations.

While under the influence of these three factors a turning point occurred in the concentrated retail sector at Manly in 1925, the preceding and succeeding periods also included a number of significant, physical alterations. Most of those, however, had occurred prior to 1925. Well before then Cambridge Parade was used as a thoroughfare to the beach. Also the largest group of resubdivisions were created within this time. Perhaps the most remarkable physical change, though, was the appearance of many new buildings. This rate of change in Manly's physical appearance did not continue subsequent to 1925.

Within Manly's two prominent periods shorter periods reveal particular uses of Cambridge Parade, Stratton Terrace and the Esplanade under various social influences. Internal and external social factors in conjunction with Manly's location and natural environment provided the potential for these three streets to develop particular characteristics. Moreover, the interaction of those factors with individuals and the social environment eventually provided Manly with much of its distinctiveness. Social influences pertained to processes which operated not only through wider cycles of events, such as depression and war, but also more localised ones as well. Over different periods these extrinsic and intrinsic processes influenced both the nature and number of businesses. That becomes obvious when, by, examining short phases of the sequential occupations of individuals conducting business there, the changing nature of the streetscapes is revealed.

The resultant fluctuations present a challenge for appropriate causal explanations to be found. It is obvious that some adjustments within Manly's core were often the consequence of wider cycles of events. These, however, were not consistently the primary processes at work as the impact they had on Manly's commercial centre

varied. This is obvious because the depression and war before 1925 seemed to have no impact on the continuing growth, whereas the later one had a detrimental effect.

Initially, events within the Manly shopping centre were often subject to processes which were more closely aligned with local activities. Alternations in the numbers of businesses and their types largely depended on Wynnum's position vis-à-vis its political independence. Other relevant factors were the popularity of railway transport or various practices associated with the beach. Despite these having defining effects on Manly they were often associated with wider lineal progressions, earlier aspects of which had underpinned the establishment and development of its business precinct. Nevertheless, the dynamic effect of these social issues in the hub of Manly was initially a result of responses to them being instigated at the local level.

When a significant focus for Manly was its distinction as a seaside resort, the initial location of its burgeoning commercial centre was clearly the result of a dynamic created by the position of the railway station in relation to the sea. The prominence of Stratton Terrace and its alignment with the centre of Wynnum faded in favour of the emerging importance of Cambridge Parade. Consequently, the railway was not only a link between Manly, as supply centre, and its visitor-generating areas but was, in turn, implicit in Stratton Terrace being usurped by Cambridge Parade.

This latter outcome underscores the importance of the physical landscape. In its heyday even local politics were fostered around Manly's physical location as, particularly in relation to early developments, proximity to the sea brought the promotion of Cambridge Parade as the passageway to the water. Consequently, there were prolific changes to the landscape especially with regard to building construction.

These changes in the material reality were in turn supported by local political representation and community involvement. Only as Manly became a suburb with its politics focussed elsewhere were retail outlets placed in a precarious position. This outcome makes it possible to appreciate the extent of external pressures. The economic imperatives for Wynnum's number 3 ward becoming a suburb resulted in

Manly businesses having a severe reduction in representation at the level of local politics. As political predominance began to focus on economic considerations the dramatic effect for a small suburb on the periphery of Brisbane was that its lack of growth in business became entrenched after World War II.

By then, however, Manly's relationship to Brisbane was much more than political. The physical distance between Manly and Brisbane was partly resolved by motorisation. The relatively small size of its commercial centre ensured Manly retained a subsidiary position. This accords with studies highlighting the cause and effect of transport on a central place and its smaller surrounding centres.

The contribution of the rail link in the ability of outsiders to appreciate Manly's attractiveness was fundamental to the increasing popularity of Cambridge Parade. Once motor transport destroyed this vital connection the expansion of business, or even the viability of existing ones, became problematic. As the mode of transport altered in favour of the motor car it played an important role not only contributing to centralisation but also assisting in the dispersion of people to more distant beaches.

Tracing the rise and fall in popularity of three streets through the chronological development of transport modes is an important component of this work. To some extent the development of Manly's 'sequent occupance' follows a chronological order too. However, it is not the only manner in which that concept is employed. While the succession of land usage generally follows a lineal direction it is separated into themes concerned with Manly's use as a seaside resort and then suburb. These two themes help to broaden the context by providing for an expansion on the relevant social environment.

It is in comparing the economic and political struggle in the first of these periods with the issue of centralisation dealt with in the second that defining aspects of the centre's growth emerge. During the years in which those around and within the shopping hub strove for independence, its business population and services soared. As Manly became absorbed into Brisbane, in 1925, and a couple of decades later began entry into an even more globalised environment the initial impetus behind its

formation was thwarted. The first period was obviously one in which intrinsic forces were paramount while the second became more reliant on external factors.

Some of the causes and effects may not have become apparent, however, if less precise methods of investigation were used. When short sub-periods are imposed on the events occurring within a confined location it impels a variety of explanations to be sought. The method here is therefore supplementary to that of economic sequences outlined by Dodge and applied by Kass. Moreover, the three requirements of occupiers, the occupied and the process of time which Dodge suggested is expanded here so that the impact on the shopping centre over a period ranging from 1890s to 1950s is placed within a variety of social processes. Here the overall sequence is divided into short sub-periods and examined through a range of historical processes. Essential to this is an examination at a minute level so that differences which might otherwise be obscured can emerge. When shop numbers and the types of business associated with them are examined within a number of short timeframes it presents a layered effect and thereby adds a degree of depth to an otherwise two dimension approach of chronology and breadth.

This placement of the shops and shopkeepers of Cambridge Parade, Stratton Terrace and the Esplanade within a sixty-year sequence moves beyond the characteristics once considered essential for 'sequent occupance'. Through a detailed examination of the use of land, street layouts and building features in sections of Manly's three streets, this investigation shows how short periods of time can illuminate both major and minor fluctuations of social processes. In doing so it reveals that contributing or conflicting social processes impact on a particular physical location to create distinctive streetscapes.

RESOURCES

ABBREVIATIONS

AHPI	Australian Heritage Places Inventory
BCA	Brisbane City Archives
BCC	Brisbane City Council
CR	Commissioner for Railways
JCU	James Cook University
JOL	John Oxley Library
QPOD	Queensland Post Office Directories
QDNR	Queensland Department of Natural Resources
QSA	Queensland State Archives
QR	Queensland Railway
SMBBHC	South Moreton Bay Bicentennial Historical Collection (Wynnum Library)
SUP	Sydney University Press
UQ	University of Queensland
USQ	University of Southern Queensland
WMHS	Wynnum Manly Historical Society

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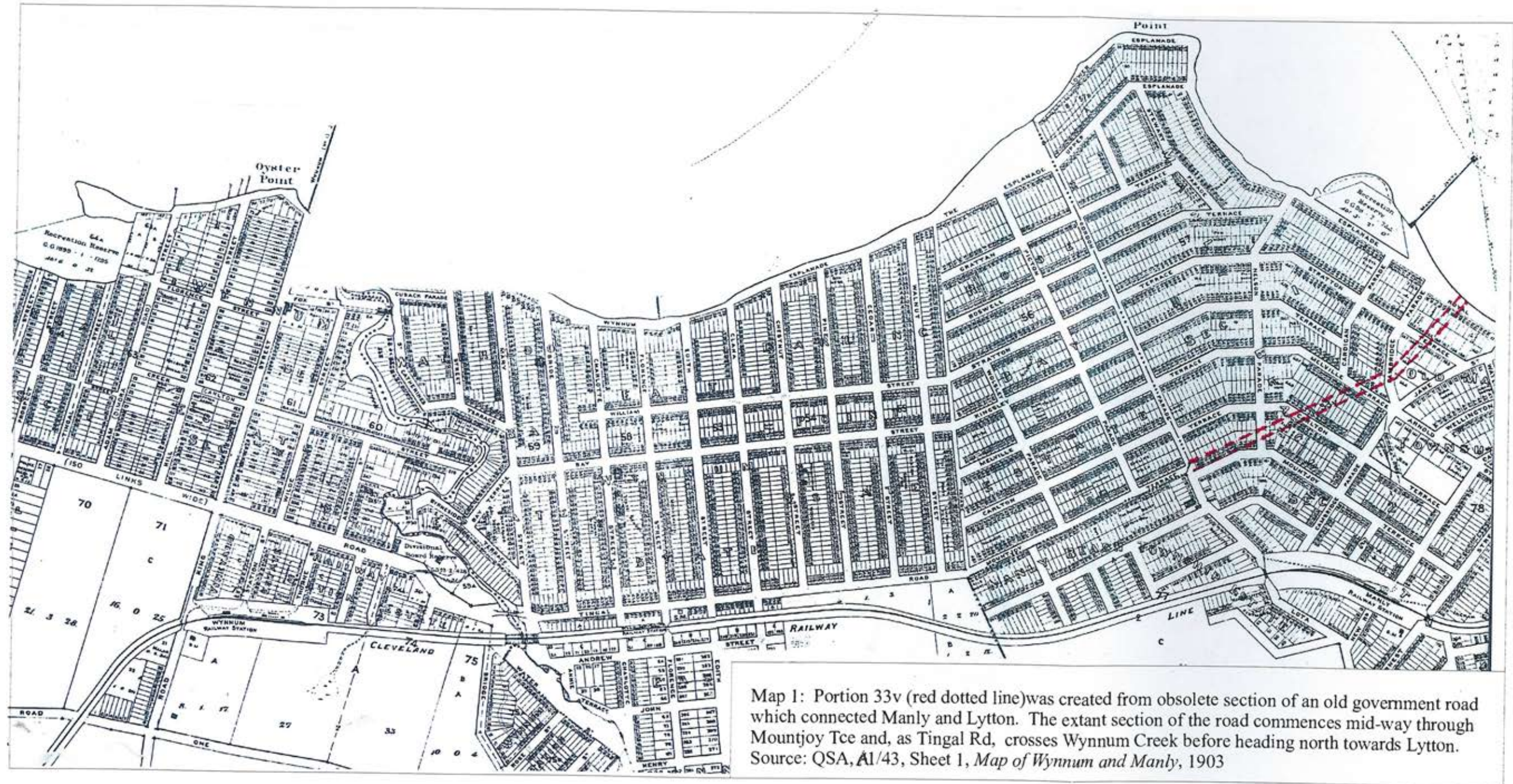
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APPENDIX I

Portion 33v



APPENDIX II

Manly Centre Subdivisions (with 1901-20 Resubdivisions)

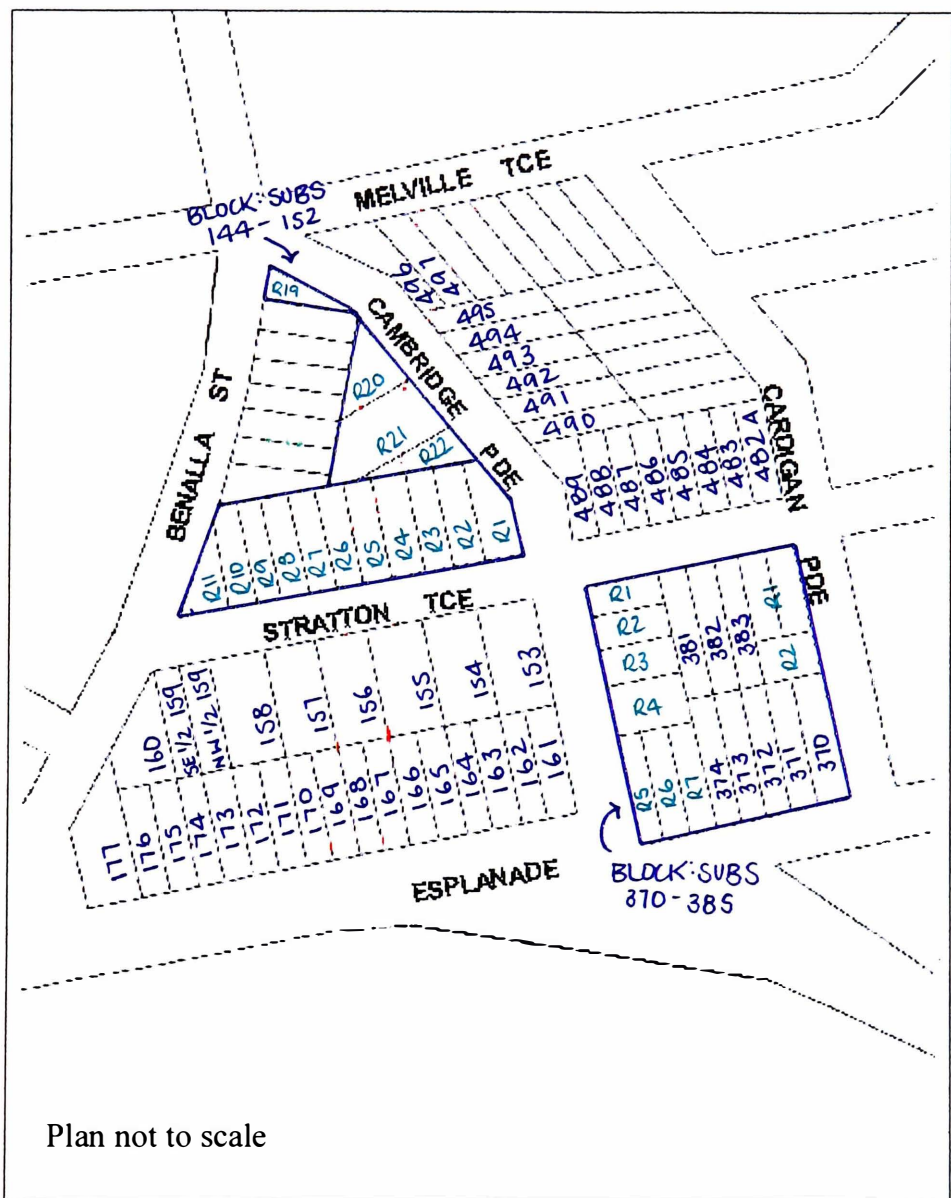
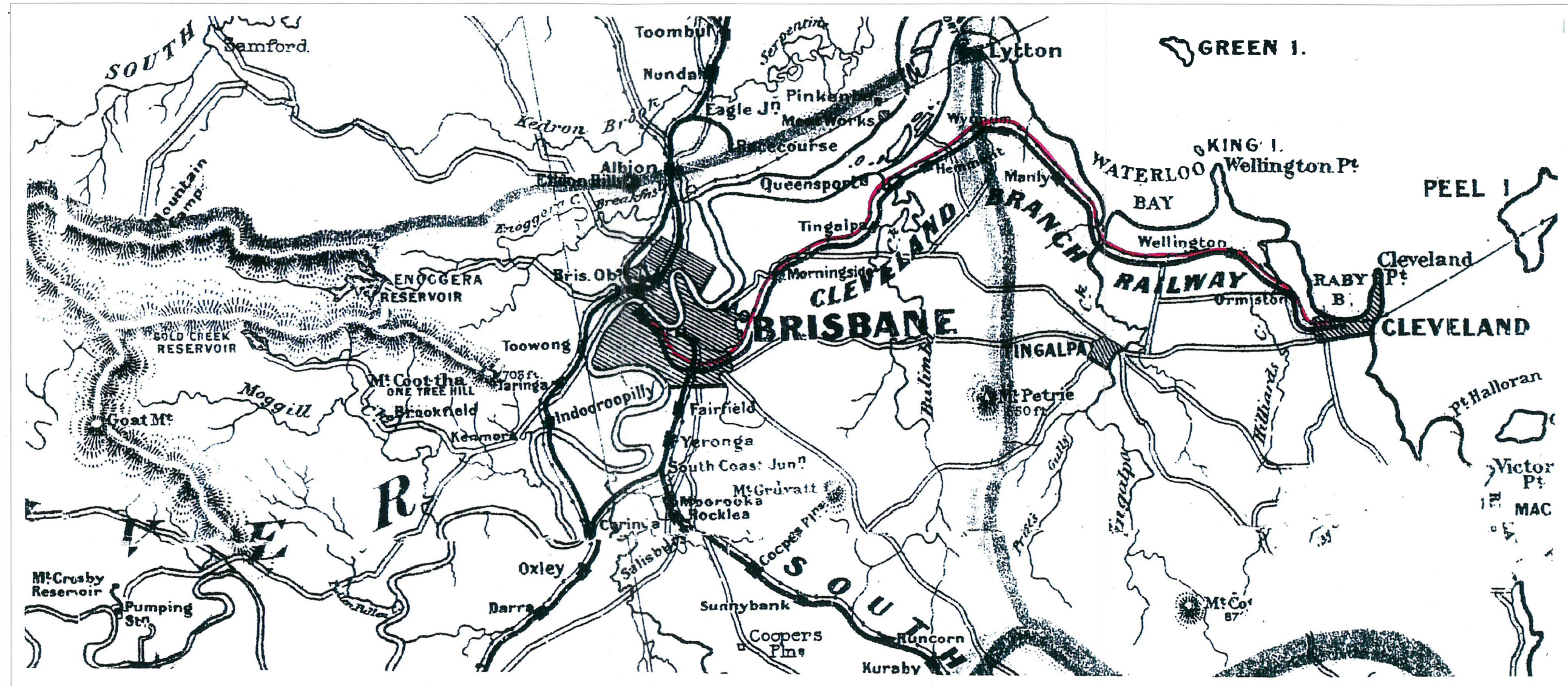


Diagram 2: Manly commercial centre's subdivisions (blue) with 1901-20 resubdivisions (green). Compiled by M. Goodwin from survey plans.
Source: BCC, RP 33032 and RP 33018.

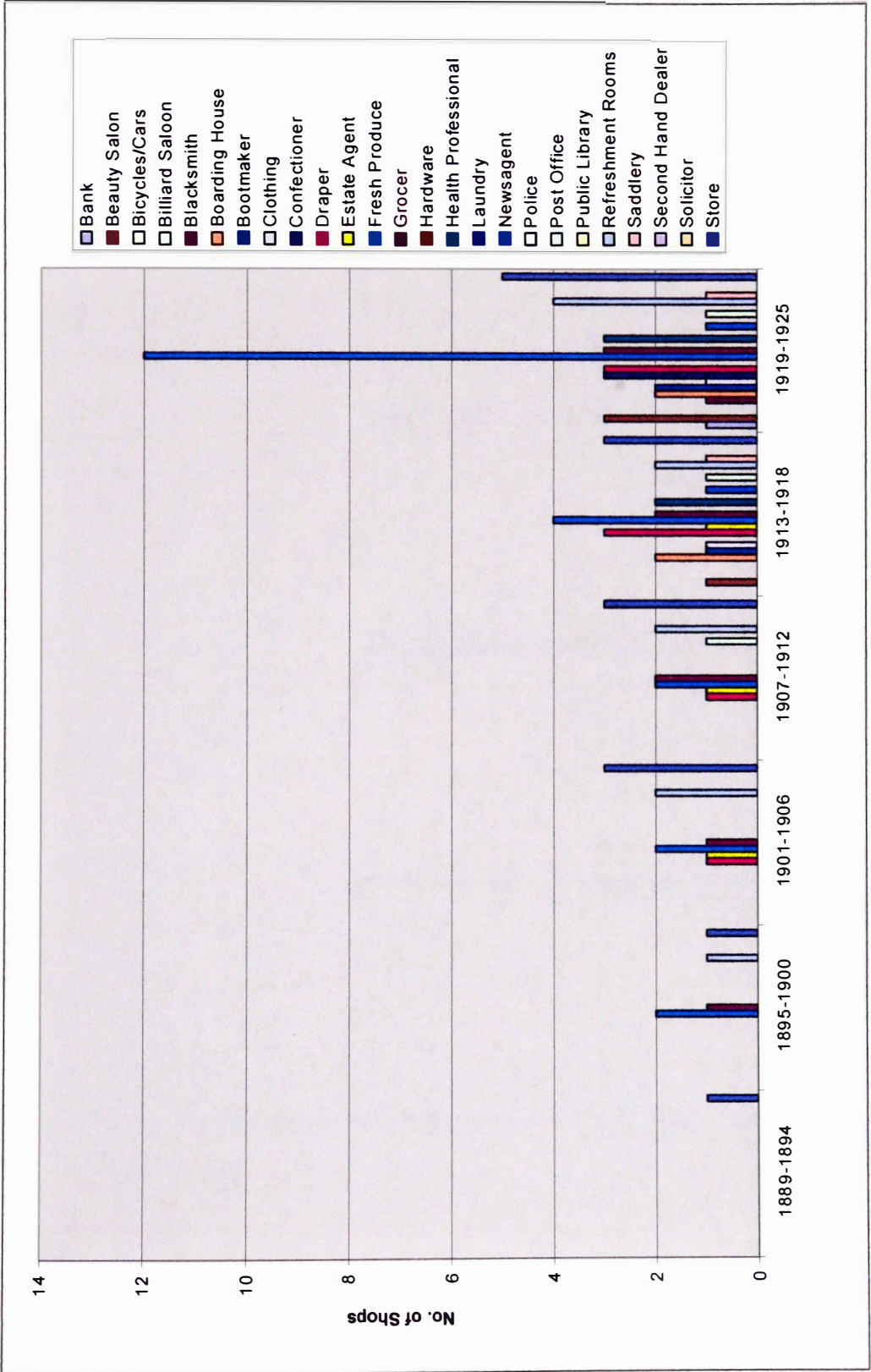
Cleveland Branch Railway



Map 3: Cleveland branch railway line which by-passed Lytton as it curved towards Wynnum and Manly.
Source: Fryer Library G9002.S6C315.S380.1893.C38. The catchment areas of the Brisbane River and of the Logan and Albert Rivers etc. South East Queensland (map).

APPENDIX IV

Manly Shop Types 1890s-1925



APPENDIX V

Manly Shop Types 1925-1950s

